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PREFACE.

This volume is devoted to the history of reconstruction in four counties of Mississippi. It will be noted that these counties represent different agricultural sections of the State, and that they are typical from a racial point of view. Panola county, partly in the Yazoo delta and partly in the hill section of northwest Mississippi, had a population in 1870 of 12,585 negroes to 8,167 whites. Oktibbeha county, partly in the northeastern prairie belt, had a black population in 1870 of 9,304 with only 5,587 whites. Lafayette county, principally in the hill section of north Mississippi, had a white majority, the population in 1870 being 10,819 whites to 7,938 negroes. Scott county is partly in the central prairie belt, but belongs principally to the pine-hill region, and had a safe white majority, its population in 1870 being 4,680 whites and 3,167 negroes. There were a greater number of large plantations in Panola and Oktibbeha than in Lafayette and Scott counties.

Fortunately, ample sources were available for an exhaustive study of reconstruction problems in the two counties—Panola and Scott—which represent the most important and diverse sections of the State.

Detailed statements of the objects of these investigations and the methods by which they are conducted will be found in Volumes XI (pages 12-13) and XII (pages 12-15) of this series.

FRANKLIN L. RILEY.

University, Mississippi.

January 15, 1913.

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RECONSTRUCTION IN PANOLA COUNTY.

BY JOHN W. KYLE.¹

INTRODUCTION.

Panola county was established February 9, 1836, and is one of the twelve large counties created in that year out of the lands ceded by the Chickasaws in the treaty of Pontotoc, October 20, 1832. The county has a land surface of 699 square miles. The original act defined its limits as follows:

"Beginning at the point where the line between ranges nine and ten strikes the center of section six, and running thence south with the said range line, and from its termination in a direct line to the northern boundary of Tallahatchie county, and thence along the northern boundaries of Tallahatchie and Yalobusha counties to the center of range five west; thence north through the center of township six according to section lines to the beginning."

Its original area was twenty-one townships or 756 square miles. But when Quitman county was created in February, 1877, it surrendered a small fraction of its southwestern area to assist in forming that county.

The county officers for the year 1838 were as follows: Aaron Botts, judge of probate; David Boyd, circuit clerk; Garland G. Nelson,

¹This contribution is the result of seminary work in the University of Mississippi in the session of 1911-12.

John William Kyle was born near Batesville, Mississippi, August 22, 1891. He comes of good stock on both sides of the family. The Kyles came to America in 1733 from Ayrshire, Scotland, settling first in Pennsylvania, and later moving to Virginia. His father, Hon. Albert Sidney Kyle, at present State senator, has served several terms in the legislature of Mississippi, and is a man of ability and of influence in the councils of the state. His father's brother, John C. Kyle, well-known throughout the state, represented the second district three terms in Congress. The mother of the subject of this sketch was Mary Heflin, daughter of Capt. William David Heflin and Mary McLaurin. The Heflins came to Panola county from North Carolina in 1850. The McLaurins were of Scotch descent. The Kyle, Heflin, and McLaurin families have exhibited qualities of leadership and have been prominent in the building of the nation since the days of the Revolution.—EDITOR.

probate clerk; George P. Anderson, sheriff; J. T. Bateman, surveyor; Harry Osteen, coroner; William Boyles, ranger; John Allison, Vincent Adams, Thomas H. Williams, George W. Redman, and William Robertson, members of the board of police. Thomas B. Hill, David McKinney, R. M. Childress, and Anthony B. Foster were among the early members of the legislature from the county.

The name "Panola" is an Indian word signifying "cotton," and the fertile valleys of the region are as productive of that staple crop as in any other part of the State. The name was given to it by Samuel J. Gholson, who represented the county of Monroe in the legislature at that time. The name of Palona was suggested by some of his constituents, but having forgotten the pronunciation, he called the county by the name it has since borne.²

Situated in the northwestern part of the State, the county is bounded on the north by Tate county, on the east by Lafayette county, on the south by Tallahatchie and Yalobusha counties, and on the west by Quitman county. The old boundary line between the Chickasaw and Choctaw sessions cuts the southwestern corner. It is a healthful, fertile, well-watered, and prosperous region, and has attracted a large number of settlers from other States at all times since its creation. The greater portion of the county is of table land character, modified in the southeastern portion especially by more or less sandy ridges extending from the neighboring portion of Lafayette county. The county is well timbered with oak and hickory, to which are added the sweet gum, ash and tulip (poplar) trees in increasing numbers as the "bottom" or "bluff" is approached. Within one to three miles of the bluff the subsoil and underlying materials are largely of the character of the calcareous silt or loess which prevails more extensively in the river counties south of Vicksburg, the surface being somewhat broken, but the soil very productive. Farther inward gravel beds are found to a considerable extent and at various depths, sometimes contributing largely to the soil and subsoil.

The extreme western portion of the county lies in the Yazoo bottom plains (here designated as the Coldwater and Tallahatchie bottoms), which form a deep embayment into the uplands at the entrance of the Tallahatchie river. The latter runs through the northern portion of

²Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*. I, 251.

the county from northeast to southwest. Though liable to overflow and apparently not as productive as the more southern portion of the great plains, these bottoms are extensively cultivated. But in the absence of separate statistics showing the agricultural yield of these lowlands, their influence upon the total production per acre in the county cannot be determined. The yield of the uplands per acre is evidently somewhat below that of Tate county, though probably higher than that of Marshall.

In 1880 Panola ranked second of the upland counties in total production, and sixth in the cotton acreage per square mile. Outside of the bottoms, the county is well settled, especially along the Illinois Central railroad from Memphis to Grenada, which runs through the county from north to south.

The main stream of the county is the Tallahatchie river, which runs through the county from northeast to southwest. In the years before and immediately after the war it was a much larger and deeper stream than it is now (1912). Then it was navigable even farther up than Belmont, and that town and old Panola were regular shipping points. This was before the railroad was built across the county, and before the rise of the towns of Batesville and Sardis to importance, and the corresponding decline of Belmont and Panola. When the railroad was built this became the sole means of transportation; and as a result the river, no longer used, was greatly injured for purposes of navigation by sediment and other obstructions. It is now navigable only to a point near Batesville, and this is due to the fact that it was cleaned out to that point in 1903 or 1904.

Among the smaller streams the most important are Yocona river which flows west across the southern part of the county into the Tallahatchie; Hoatopha creek, which flows into the Tallahatchie near the site of old Belmont; and Long creek in the southeastern and southern part of the county. There are numerous lakes and bayous scattered over the Tallahatchie bottom near the western border.

The different parts of the county are connected by a good system of roads, the main lines of which are worked by the contract system. These roads facilitate travel, and the two iron bridges across Tallahatchie river, near the sites of old Belmont and old Panola, afford convenient means of communication north and south. These improvements have helped to obliterate the sectional feeling which has long

existed and which had its origin in the rivalry between the towns of Panola and Belmont for the seat of justice when the county was first established. At a later date this feeling was intensified by discontent over the removal of the seat of justice to Sardis in 1871. That part of the population south of the river, near old Belmont, made Sardis their place of business, while that part living immediately northwest of the river from Batesville in what is known as the McIvor neighborhood made Batesville their place of business.

The first railroad in the county was the Mississippi and Tennessee, which was built in the late fifties. It ran through the county from north to south, about midway between the Lafayette and Quitman county lines. The construction of this road had a great deal to do with the future history of the county. The Sardis and Delta railroad is a short line, about twenty-two miles in length, which runs from Sardis in a southwesterly direction toward the Quitman line. This road extends into the heart of the Tallahatchie bottom, and was constructed largely for the purpose of helping to develop the lumber industry in that section. There is at present (1912) under construction another road known as the Batesville-Southwestern, running from Batesville to Charleston. Only about twelve or fifteen miles of it have been built, but the work is rapidly progressing and the road will probably be completed within the next few months. This road, too, owes its origin to the efforts to develop the timber industry in the southwestern part of Panola and the northern part of Tallahatchie county.

The county is divided into two court districts, Tallahatchie river being the line of division. Sardis is the capital of the first court district and Batesville of the second. These two towns were each founded just before the War of Secession, as a result of the building of the Mississippi and Tennessee railroad. The first inhabitants of Sardis came chiefly from Belmont during the late fifties. The town rapidly grew to be one of the most important commercial centers in the county. Its growth was handicapped, though not entirely stopped, by the outbreak of the war, but upon the return of peace the town rapidly rose to a position of first importance in the county, and was incorporated in 1866. Among the first inhabitants of the place were Capt. W. D. Heflin who moved there from old Belmont in the late fifties, when the surrounding country was a virgin forest. Other pioneer settlers were: Judge J. F. Simmons, who was chancellor of the district under the

Alcorn administration, and who later edited the *Southern Reporter* for a number of years after his services on the bench had expired; J. F. Lavender, Mr. Hobgood, Capt. E. S. Walton, and many others, some of whom are still living. Its population in 1910 was about 1,500.

The town of Batesville also owes its origin to the construction of the Mississippi and Tennessee railroad. It drew its early population from the surrounding country and especially from old Belmont and old Panola, and having been located on the then new railroad at a point one mile east of the latter place. Railroad transportation very soon took the place of river transportation, and as a natural sequence the business center shifted from Panola to the place where the depot was established. It was called "Batesville" in honor of the Rev. J. W. Bates, for a number of years a Methodist preacher in the community. The town was incorporated in 1866. Thriving business houses were promptly established, and within the first decade of its history most of the frame buildings at old Panola were placed on rollers and moved to Batesville, the distance in no case being more than a mile.³ During the years immediately after the war the town grew rapidly and soon became the second place in importance in the county. The population during the latter years of the reconstruction period was about six hundred.

The next town in importance, and one which likewise owed its prosperity to the construction of the railroad, was Como, which ranks a little below Batesville in population. It is situated in the extreme northern part of the county and is surrounded by a vast stretch of fertile country, making it a thriving business point and commercial center. Courtland and Pope, both situated in the southern part of the county on the Illinois Central railroad, and Crenshaw, a new town recently built in the extreme northwestern part of the county on the Yazoo Delta railroad, are also good business centers, though of less importance than the other three.

The ruins of the extinct towns of Belmont and Panola mark two historic sites, which carry with them the memory of what the county was in the early years of its existence. These two towns, situated on the banks of the muddy Tallahatchie, were in the early days of the

³ See Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V. 362-63.

county the leading commercial centers and chief shipping points in that section of the State. Panola was situated on the southern bank, one mile west of the site of the present town of Batesville, and Belmont lay about ten miles up the river on the northern bank.

Belmont was founded in the late thirties, when white settlers first came into that part of the State, and it grew rapidly into a thriving village. It was the center of trade for all that part of the county extending east to the Lafayette county line and for those parts extending northwest and southwest toward Como and Panola respectively. In those early days it was an important shipping point. Boats ascended the river to this point regularly, and at times small crafts even went a few miles farther. Cotton and other produce were placed on board at Belmont and Panola, and shipped down the river to its mouth, thence down the Yazoo to Vicksburg, and by way of the Mississippi to New Orleans. The communication with Memphis was by overland routes, cotton being carried to that place on large wagons drawn by oxen or mules. The time required to make the overland trip was about two days each way. When the railroad was built through the county, and the towns of Sardis and Batesville were founded, the doom of Belmont was sealed. Business houses were removed during the late fifties and the early sixties to these new towns, the greater part going to Sardis. After the war Belmont rapidly declined and within a few years only a few landmarks here and there remained to point out to the country traveler the location of that once thriving ante-bellum town.⁴

The history of the town of Panola is very similar to that of Belmont. It was founded in the early thirties, when the white settlers first came to the county, and was incorporated about 1840. At an early date it assumed a position of primary importance. When the new county of Panola was created in 1836, the town of Panola was made the seat of justice, after an intense rivalry with Belmont for the honor. Soon after the erection of the handsome courthouse and jail the town began to grow rapidly, and its population and prosperity increased continuously, until about 1850, when it had reached its maximum size. It then contained about 1,000 inhabitants. This prosperity, however, did not last very long. As has been said, upon the building of the

⁴ Ibid.

railroad in the late fifties, and the consequent rise of the towns of Batesville and Sardis, Panola rapidly declined. In 1870 the entire population was only 192. The larger portion of these inhabitants were lawyers, county officials, and other persons, whose business necessitated their remaining at the seat of justice. The entire taxable property amounted to only about \$30,000. When the seat of justice was changed from Panola to Sardis in 1871, the last remnants of a town disappeared.⁵ This act was the final blow to the dying town, and mindful of this fact, on Thursday evening, the 27th of April, 1871, when the last records and court furniture had been removed from the old courthouse, the citizens of the place caused the bell to be tolled for several hours—a dirge to its departed glory. Thus deeply were the sentiments connected with the dying village buried in the hearts of the older citizens. Now the old jail, which has been remodeled and converted into a beautiful country home, stands as the only landmark of this once historic town.

The population of the county has at all times been made up almost wholly of native Americans. This was especially true of the population before the war. In 1860 there were only sixty-five foreigners in the county. The native element, that is those who were born in the United States, came largely from Tennessee, Alabama, Carolina, Georgia and Virginia, or were descendants of families who came from those States. Among the pioneers of the county were Col. W. B. Johnson, James L. Fletcher, Dr. Mosley, Dr. Freeman Irby, N. R. Sledge (the oldest of that name in the county), Anthony Foster, J. F. Lavender, Capt. E. S. Walton, R. A. Jones, E. Q. Vance, father of Capt. C. B. Vance, one of the leaders in the county reconstruction history and afterwards state senator; B. C. Kyle and J. M. Kyle, grandfather and father respectively of ex-Congressman John C. Kyle, who was also a leader in the last years of reconstruction; Dr. Henry Laird, Col. John R. Dickens, and others.

The population of the county was constantly on the increase, even during the decade from 1860 to 1870, embracing the four years of the war and the years of depression which immediately followed. In 1849 there was an aggregate of 4,576 inhabitants of the county, of whom 2,415 or a little less than 52 per cent were slaves. In 1850 there

⁵ Ibid.

was a total of 11,444, of whom 6,420 or 56 per cent were slaves. In 1860 there were 13,794 in all, of whom 8,557 or 62 per cent were slaves. Thus we see that the slave population was constantly on the increase. From 1860 to 1870 the population grew from 13,794 to 20,754. This is a remarkable record considering the fact that the period had been marked by four years of desolating war followed by years of economic and social depression. It is well to observe, too, that the negro population in 1870, the time at which the county was wholly subverted to negro-carpetbag rule, was more than one and a half times as great as the white, the relative figures being negroes 12,585, whites 8,169. By 1880 the entire population had increased to 28,352, two-thirds of whom were negroes.⁶

It is inaccurate to speak of any portion of the county during reconstruction as the "black belt." Only in beat four was there a majority of whites and even there the margin was very small. Beat one was the most hopelessly given over to black control, having five negroes to every two whites. Beat two came second with a negro majority of nearly two to one. These two beats gave striking evidence of negro domination by sending up at each election negro supervisors and magistrates. Beat five, with large negro majorities, embracing the most prominent and important part of the county, usually placed in office the leading carpetbaggers and scalawags. Beat three had only a small negro majority, and this district was not the scene of so much political maneuvering as were the others. The towns of Batesville and Panola had each a moderate white majority. The foreign population in the county was not very large, there being in 1870 only 190 foreign-born inhabitants, of whom Canada furnished 16, Germany 27, England and Wales 19, Ireland 27, Scotland 16, Scandinavian Peninsula and Denmark 59, France 2, Italy 1, Switzerland 2, and Africa 4.⁷

When the war broke out Panola county had a large percentage of negro population, there being in all 8,557 slaves and only 5,237 white people. There were in all 629 slave owners.⁸ Counting the number of males twenty-one years of age and upward as one-fifth of the population, an estimate based upon the exact proportion as given in 1870, the number of slave owners was about 60 per cent of the voting popu-

⁶ Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Census Reports.

⁷ See Table IV, in Appendix.

⁸ See Table I, in Appendix.

lation at the outbreak of the war. Of course most of these owned very few, more than half owning less than ten slaves each; but as statistics show the slave population was unusually well distributed among the whites. There were comparatively few large slave holders, due to the fact that the county had not long been settled. The Federal census gives only four slave holders who owned more than one hundred slaves each, but these figures are very probably incorrect, as there is strong evidence to show that the number was somewhat larger. It is an interesting fact that there was not a single free negro in the county at the outbreak of the war. There were five in 1840, and three in 1850. There was one native African in the county in 1860. He claimed to be the son of an African prince, who had carelessly wandered too near the western coast and had been picked up by a slave ship and sold into slavery in America.

The occupation of the county has always been principally agricultural. Manufacturing industries have never grown out of their incipency, and have been confined, except within very recent years, almost entirely to such lines as were necessary for immediate local convenience and consumption. About the beginning of the present century a large lumber mill was established at Sardis, and about 1904 a cotton factory for making twine, rope and cord was established at Batesville. During the period before and immediately after the war the only kind of manufacturing plants in the county were sawmills, grain mills, and blacksmith and repair shops to suit the convenience of the people.

PARTIES AND PARTY PRINCIPLES.

During the first two years after the close of the war there was only one party in the county. The old party lines between the Whigs and Democrats which had existed before the war, did not reappear after the surrender. The common interests of the people and their mutual dependence during the war seemed to draw them nearer together, and before party lines could be reestablished after the surrender, the radical policy of the Republican administration at Washington made party division among Southern whites a thing that was not to be considered. Whigs, Democrats, and Independents, no matter how partisan they had been before the war, now united in a solid phalanx to resist the negro-carpetbag régime. The leaders in Panola county

during reconstruction had been either Whigs, or unswerving Democrats before the war; but their old party differences were blotted out in their efforts to combat what was considered the common enemy of both.

In the elections of the first two years after the surrender there were no party nominations or party candidates. Each candidate announced himself independently, and had his name placed upon the ticket, but not as the nominee of any party or faction. This was true of the election for delegates to the constitutional convention called to revise the State Constitution in September, 1865, and of the elections for district and county officers in October, 1865, and in October, 1866.⁹

The creation of the military districts and the passage of the suffrage acts of Congress, however, completely changed the political aspect of the country. In March, 1867, Congress, divided the South into five military districts, of which Mississippi and Arkansas composed the fourth. Major-General Ord was placed in command of this district with headquarters at Vicksburg. One of the first duties of the military commander was to prepare for a general registration, in which the negroes were to be included. Registrars of known republican affiliation were appointed throughout the country. All negroes with few exceptions, who desired to do so, were allowed to register; and on the other hand a large portion of the white population were disqualified because of their inability to take the exceedingly rigorous Iron-Clad Oath.

The registrars began their work in June, 1867, and continued it throughout that summer. Those appointed for Panola county were W. W. Howe, A. R. Howe and Johnson Sullivan. The two Howes were natives of Massachusetts and ex-United States army officers. Some time before this they had come to Panola county, and had bought what was known as the Hunt plantation, a large tract of farming land containing about two sections, and situated three or four miles west of Como. They were good business men and prosperous. We shall hear much more of them later. Sullivan was a member of a well-known family in the county, and lived five miles north of Panola. He was at school in Pennsylvania during the war. General

⁹ *Panola Star* for October 6, 1866.

Ord issued a general order regulating the way in which the registration should be conducted, and stipulating the requirements made of applicants for the position of registrar. The following oath was prescribed for parties desiring this position:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) in the presence of Almighty God, that I am a citizen of the State of _____, that I have resided in said State for _____ months next preceding this day, and now reside in the county of _____ in said State, that I am twenty-one years old, that I have not been disfranchised for participation in any rebellion or civil war against the United States nor for felony against the laws of any State or of the United States; that I have not been a member of any State legislature, nor held any executive or judicial office in any State, and afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; that I have never taken an oath as a member of Congress of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the constitution of the United States and afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; that I will faithfully support the constitution and obey the laws of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, encourage, others to do so. So help me God."¹⁰

The registration was begun in the county June 17, and was completed August 10. The results showed that there were 3,100 registered voters in the county, of whom 1,244 were whites and 1,856 negroes, the percentage being about 40 to 60.

Out of twelve precincts in the county eight had large negro majorities. The white element predominated chiefly in beat four in the eastern part of the county next to the Lafayette county line. The largest negro majority was to be found at Como. There the negroes outnumbered the whites nearly five to one. The voting precincts of Panola and Sardis had large negro majorities, although the towns themselves were white. Eureka, Bynum Creek, and Springport, all in beat four, had white majorities. Beats one and two were hopelessly in black control. Thus with such overwhelming majorities were the negroes ushered into politics in Panola county.¹¹

During the reconstruction period the party divisions were largely made by color. The Democratic party was made up largely of Southern whites; and this was especially true until the campaign of 1875. As has been said, no party divisions were made in the county during the two years immediately following the war. The party lines which had existed before the war had been blotted out during the four years

¹⁰ *Panola Star*, June 29, 1867.

¹¹ *Panola Star*, August 24, 1867.

of that desperate struggle, and before the institution of the Congressional reconstruction measures in 1867 and 1868 they had not been revived. During the decade from 1850 to 1860 there was a large element of Whigs in the county, and many of the leading men were affiliated with that party. When the question of secession arose in 1861 the county elected delegates to the State convention, who were opposed to secession and pledged to vote against it. This they did, but when the articles were passed, and secession became an accomplished fact, the Panola delegates signed the articles.¹² From these circumstances it must be inferred that conservative Whig sentiment was very general. But when the war began, Democrats, Whigs, and Independents united in a solid support of the cause of the Confederacy, and the leading men of each party joined the Southern army.

Thus it would seem clear that, after four years of fighting for a common cause, during which time all factional lines had been obliterated, no division among the Southern whites was possible, in face of the dark cloud from Washington, lowering over the South in the late winter and early spring of 1867. The military reconstruction acts of Congress in March, 1867, coupled with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which followed, forced a union of the Southern people for their self-preservation, and this union has never since been broken.

The Republican party was composed almost entirely of negroes and along with them were about a half dozen carpetbaggers and a few native white scalawags. The carpetbaggers came into the county during the years 1865 to 1867. Chief among them were A. R. and W. W. Howe, of whom something has been said above, and Urbain Ozanne, a Tennessee Frenchman, of whom we shall hear more later. The scalawags were more numerous than the carpetbaggers and were scattered over all parts of the county, though nowhere very numerous. This class was composed of four elements: First, a few men who thought that it was to the best interest of the South to join the Republican ranks in order to alleviate Southern conditions; second, a class of disgruntled, dissatisfied Southerners, whose natural ill-feeling toward their countrymen drove them into the Radical party; third, a class of worthless, ambitious soldiers of fortune who were willing to

¹² *Panola Star*, July 1, 1865.

sacrifice their patriotism and honor for the sake of office; and fourth, a class that believed in the principles of the Republican party and had been old line Whigs or Republicans before the war.

Among the Southern whites who for various reasons became more or less allied to the Republican party were J. F. Simmons, of Sardis, and E. S. Fisher, of Batesville. Judge Simmons was a man possessed of many admirable qualities. He was friendly, warm-hearted, and polished in his manner and was respected and esteemed as a man. During the first two or three years after the surrender he was a leader in public sentiment in the county, and in the summer of 1865 gained some special notoriety because of an address delivered on several occasions in honor of the Confederate dead of the county. He was a man of moderate ability as a lawyer, but was very painstaking in his work as chancellor of the district. Judge E. S. Fisher was already a well-known character when the war closed. He had been a resident of the State for many years, and was a leading lawyer of the Coffeeville bar before the war. He was an Old Line Whig and had opposed secession and because of his well-known Unionist views was the candidate of the most conservative element in the State for governor in the fall of 1865, but was defeated by Gen. B. G. Humphreys. He was appointed circuit judge by Governor Alcorn in 1870, and served on the bench through the remaining years of the reconstruction period. In 1876 he removed to Texas, where he died a short time afterwards. Judge Fisher was a leader in public sentiment, both before and after the war, and although his views were those of the minority he was at all times a man of considerable influence even among those who did not agree with him in politics.¹³

Another very interesting character among the Southern whites who became allied with the Republican party in the county was John C. Harrison, a son of Judge Orville Harrison. He too was an Old Line Whig, but upon the outbreak of the war he went into the service of the Confederacy. Not long after entering the army he was taken sick, and returned home to recuperate; and while at home he was elected circuit clerk to fill out the unexpired term of Andy Rayburn, who had died in office. Young Harrison qualified for the office, made his bond and though still very weak, returned to his command, leaving the

¹³ Goodspeed's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 759.

office in charge of deputies. When the time came for another election, he was reelected, while at Shelbyville, Tennessee. In the autumn of 1864, while doing military service around Florence, Alabama, he was elected for a third term. When he returned home he took charge of the duties of his office in person. So well was he liked and in such a satisfactory way did he discharge the duties placed upon him, that he was continuously reelected until displaced by the military government under Governor Ames in 1869.

When J. H. Pierce, the East Mississippi scalawag, was appointed chancery clerk in the early summer of that year, Harrison accepted a position as deputy under him. A short time afterwards Pierce was made United States Marshal for the northern district of the State, and young Harrison, as reliable reports say, at the solicitation of friends, accepted the appointment of chancery clerk at the hands of Governor Alcorn. The *Panola Star* tells us that

"This was no Radical click or trick. He was strongly solicited to accept the appointment, by as good, conservative men as live in the county."

Thus was J. C. Harrison brought into the ranks of the Republican party. He was elected to succeed himself in 1871 and again in 1873, and died in office in the latter part of 1874. In each election he received a large number of Conservative votes. This shows the high esteem in which he was held by the white people of the county. In 1871 he ran ahead of the rest of the Republican ticket about three hundred and fifty votes, receiving 2,882 votes for chancery clerk to Ozanne's 2,538 for sheriff.¹⁴

Among the other prominent native whites who went into the Radical party, and who held office more or less throughout the period were W. C. McGowan, who was appointed sheriff by Governor Ames to succeed Thomas E. Clarke in 1869, when the latter was removed on account of not being able to qualify under the Reconstruction acts; C. H. Gleason, who filled the office of circuit clerk during the years 1872-1875 inclusive; W. A. Jones, an appointee of Governor Ames, who served as a member of the board of police from 1869 until 1871, and was elected assessor in 1871 and again in 1873; and Robert Jarvis, who was coroner and ranger during 1872 and 1873. Another impor-

¹⁴ *Panola Star*, November 11, 1871.

tant factor in Republican politics in the county was M. C. Brady, who served as district attorney for the district during the period, and enlivened many of the negro-carpetbag-scalawag conventions and assemblies with oratorical abuse of the Conservatives and the Southern whites in general. More notorious than any of these perhaps was J. H. Pierce, in whom were combined the most despicable elements of a Southern scalawag, and a soldier of fortune.¹⁵

Pierce came from the eastern part of the State in the vicinity of Columbus. During the war he had served in the Confederate army, but immediately after the surrender he took the Iron-Clad Oath, claiming that he had been forced to join the Southern army against his will. He at once secured a position under the Federal government, and about 1868 came to Panola county and took charge of the Freedmen's Bureau at Sardis. In the early summer of 1869 he was appointed chancery clerk, and in November of that year was elected to represent the twenty-fourth senatorial district, composed of Panola and Tallahatchie counties, in the State senate. He continued to fill both of these positions until the summer of 1870, when he was appointed United States marshal. From that time until 1872 he was State senator and marshal at the same time. He consumed his time in the exercise of his duties as marshal and scarcely attended a legislative session except on special occasions or order to draw his pay. His most important act as a legislator was the passage of the bill changing the seat of justice of Panola county from old Panola to Sardis. While he was representing that county in the senate he owned a home and was residing in the town of Oxford in another district, and spent only enough time among his constituents to preserve his political power. During the performance of his duties as United States marshal occurred his altercation with Col. L. Q. C. Lamar, in the course of which the latter knocked him down with a chair in open court.¹⁶ Later Pierce was appointed postmaster at Oxford, and remained in that position for several years. He later died in Washington.

This numerically small element of white Radicals in Panola county, became the political mentors of the black race, and controlled the

¹⁵ Capt. C. B. Vance.

¹⁶ Dr. A. A. Young.

county government until their final overthrow in 1875. Without doubt the most influential of these were Ozanne and the Howes, who were men of exceptional ability, gifted with the power to control party politics such as existed in 1870-1875. Their influence over the blacks was amazing. They took the leading parts in the Republican conventions, and virtually dictated their policies. One of the Howes was chairman of the county Republican executive committee most of the time; while Ozanne was a constant field-worker and organizer. To him the negroes always looked for final instructions. They seem to have felt that their political existence depended upon "Mr. 'Rozeene," as they so fondly entitled their chief. These three carpet-baggers organized the Republican party in the county; they supervised and controlled it during the period in which it flourished; and they went down with it in November, 1875.

Of course, as has been said, the Republican party was made up almost entirely of negroes, and before 1875 they cast practically a solid vote for that party. Those of their number who voted otherwise did it at the risk of violent treatment at the hands of other members of their race. Under the reconstruction registration in the summer of 1867 there were in all 1,856 registered negro voters in the county, or about one and one-half times the number of registered white voters. However, in the summer of 1868, exactly one year after the enfranchisement of the blacks, the whites succeeded in controlling enough negro votes to carry the county against the adoption of the constitution by a majority of sixty-three. Thus at the beginning of the negro enfranchisement the whites were able to exert considerable influence over them; but after the government had been placed thoroughly in the hands of the Radicals by executive appointments in 1869 and 1870, the influence of the whites was almost entirely blotted out.¹⁷

There were several negroes who occupied influential positions in the Republican ranks throughout this period, chief among whom were J. H. Piles and C. A. Yancey. These two colored men were elected to the lower house of the legislature in November, 1869, where the former continued to serve until 1875. The latter died a short time after being elected. Both of them were Northern negroes, who came South for political gain. In delivering a eulogy on Yancey

¹⁷ *Panola Star*, November 11, 1871.

before the legislature in 1870, the future United States senator Revels said in part: "Mr. Yancey, when at home, lived in Ohio." This statement was taken up and quoted by Conservative newspapers in all parts of the State in ridicule of the negro-carpetbag administration.¹⁸ Piles was a lawyer, and a comparatively able man. He was chairman of some important committees while in the legislature, and had considerable influence in that body.

Among the other negro leaders and office holders were John Wilson, an ex-slave who lived a few miles distant from Como in beat one, and who served as supervisor from that beat during 1872 and 1873; Lang Hunt, another ex-slave, who lived on the Hunt plantation before the war and continued to live there after the Howes bought it in 1866, and who served as a member of the board of supervisors from beat two from 1872 until 1875; Jerry Hibbler, who succeeded John Wilson, from beat one, in January, 1874, and who was reelected in November 1875, being the only negro on the board in 1876-1877, and Peter Shegog, a negro from beat three who served on the board during 1874 and 1875. None of these could read or write. A leading negro campaigner and organizer was Scott Martin, who rendered active service as a stump speaker and Republican declaimer, especially during the remarkable campaign of 1875. He made many speeches over the county, addressing nearly all negro assemblies and picnics, and conducted himself generally in such a way as to call forth the most intense ill-feeling of the Conservatives toward him. He lived south of Tallahatchie river, but on numerous occasions crossed over to the northern part of the county and poured forth tirades of abuse against the Democratic party. Another colored leader during the period of 1875 was Josiah T. Settle, who came into the county in March of that year and remained there until 1885. About 1883 he was elected to the legislature on the Democratic ticket. During the campaign of 1875 he was actively engaged in working for the Republican party.¹⁹ He was a man of ability and of a marked degree of refinement; very striking in his personal appearance and a good speaker. He was always polite and courteous to the white people.

The principles of the Democratic party in the county immediately after the war were very conservative. Especially was this true in

¹⁸ *Panola Star*, January 22, 1870.

¹⁹ Letter from J. T. Settle to the author, written from Memphis, Tenn.

regard to the county leaders during the years 1865 and 1866, the time during which conservatism was worth most. Long before the convention met in 1865 to revise the State Constitution the *Panola Star* published strong editorials acknowledging the de facto abolition of slavery, and urging all the citizens of the county to forget the past and to work in earnest to help organize the State, according to the conditions which the war had placed upon the seceding States. Samuel Matthews and L. P. Cooper, two very conservative men, whose old party affiliations were probably Whig, were elected in August, 1865, as delegates to the constitutional convention. In the same month Governor Sharkey issued an order for one company of cavalry and one of infantry to be raised in each county, for the purpose of keeping down lawlessness and avoiding the necessity of keeping an armed garrison in the county. As an illustration of the conservatism of the people, in the election for governor in October, 1865, Judge Fisher carried the county over General Humphreys by an overwhelming majority. Fisher was the constitutional convention candidate for governor, because the leaders in that convention thought that by electing such a conservative Union man to the office of governor, the Northern politicians would have less cause to look with suspicion upon the sentiment in the South in regard to the results of the war. Fisher had opposed secession and the war, was an able man, and was considered the logical candidate for governor. The most able and profound leaders of the time recommended and urged that he be elected instead of General Humphreys, who had occupied a conspicuous position in the war, having been a brigadier-general. The fact that Fisher received nearly the entire vote of the county shows that the prevailing sentiment was conservative. This sentiment continued to exist until the radical reconstruction measures at Washington and negro enfranchisement, forced the people of the county into a determined struggle to rid themselves of the ruinous carpetbag régime.

On Monday, July 23, 1866, a meeting was held at Panola to determine upon some action to be taken in regard to sending delegates from Mississippi to the National Conservative Convention, which was to be held in Philadelphia, August 14. Part of the county leaders were in favor of sending delegates to the State convention to be held at Jackson within a few days to elect delegates to the Philadelphia

convention but a respectable minority disapproved of sending delegates from the State to the Philadelphia convention. They gave as the reason for their dissent that if the Southern people took an important part in such a convention it would only cause them further humiliation and oppression at the hands of the Radical Congress. Dr. Ellis and Maj. L. P. Cooper, referred to above as a delegate to the constitutional convention in 1865, were the advocates of the minority view. However, the majority view was adopted, and Col. F. B. Irby, an old citizen who had been a leader for a number of years and who was at the time a member of the legislature, J. G. Ballentine, and M. S. Ward, editor of the *Panola Star*, were appointed delegates to the Jackson convention.²⁰

The next general issue which presented itself to the people of the county was the question of electing delegates to the constitutional convention, called according to the reconstruction acts of Congress to meet January 9, 1868. After the Congressional registration had been completed and the negroes enfranchised, the county reconstruction convention met October 12, 1867, with Dr. F. Moore²¹ presiding, and nominated U. Ozanne and J. F. Simmons as candidates for the convention. Four days later Mr. Simmons in a published letter to the chairman of the nominating convention declined the nomination, giving as his reasons for so doing: First, that he understood his name had been presented under the impression that he was a member of the Loyal League, and he had organized such a society at Sardis, and that whereas he did not approve of the Loyal League as he understood it, he could not accept the office under the deception; and secondly, that his business affairs would not permit him to accept the nomination. As a consequence of his refusal to become a candidate, the name of A. R. Howe was substituted in his place.²²

The Conservative convention met at Panola on October 25, and organized by electing Col. Hugh Z. Crozier, of Eureka, chairman. A committee, consisting of J. C. Braham, Dr. J. R. Payne, and Capt. N. C. Taylor, was appointed to draft resolutions expressing the sentiment of the convention. When the committee withdrew to perform

²⁰ *Panola Star*, July 28, 1866.

²¹ Dr. Moore afterwards left the Radical party, and became firmly affiliated with the Democrats with whom he remained thereafter.

²² *Panola Star*, October 26, 1867.

their task Capt. J. J. Meek, a prominent citizen of the county, was called to the platform and delivered an eloquent speech, according to the reports of the time, vividly portraying the dangers of the reconstruction policy of Congress, and "urging his fellow countrymen with fervid eloquence not to vote on the election day." E. A. Thompson, another prominent citizen of the community, addressed the convention along the same lines. The committee appointed drew up the following resolutions:

"Whereas the political condition of our beloved state is such as to call for the earnest coöperation of every thinking patriot in the land, in such measures of policy and unity of action as will secure us in the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and constitutional rights for ourselves and posterity:

"Therefore, resolved that we hereby endorse the address to the people of the state, announced by the State Central Executive Committee, dated Jackson, October 17, 1867. The principles set forth in that address commend themselves to our intelligence and adoption; and

"Resolved: That as registered voters of the county of Panola we will not vote in the coming election, but sustained by a consciousness of right, we are determined to let that election go by default as to us, and recommend that all our friends in the county will do likewise."²³

How nearly these resolutions were carried out by the white people of the county is fully shown by the election returns: total white vote, 7; total colored 1,549. Of these seven white votes four were cast at Panola, two at Como, and one at Sardis.²⁴ The total number of registered voters in the county was 3,175, of whom about 1,250 were white. There were about three hundred negroes who did not vote.

Fortunately there is extant a printed copy of a letter of Urbain Ozanne to his colleague-elect in the Black and Tan Convention, dated October 22, 1867, which shows very conclusively that if Ozanne was sincere in his statements at that time, his mind certainly underwent a great change a little later, when an opportunity presented itself to secure for himself the spoils of office and party leadership. An extract from this letter is as follows:

"While I am in favor of giving the colored race the right of franchise, to clothe themselves with the full privileges of an American citizen, to give them full protection before the laws, to testify in court, to provide every possible means for the advancement of their education and moral improvement, yet I do not endorse the policy of them holding office under their present ignorant and uneducated condition, and I am strongly in favor of conferring that privilege on the intelligent

²³ *Panola Star*, November 2, 1867.

²⁴ *Panola Star*, November 16, 1867.

and educated classes. In favoring a fair and impartial legislation to the black race I am opposed to any attempt to deprive the white race of its privileges as citizens, and shall oppose to the bitter end any such attempt if made."²⁵

The Black and Tan Convention met in Jackson, January 9, 1868, and adjourned May 17. It was controlled completely by men representing the basest element of the population, and seventeen of its members were negroes. The two delegates from Panola county must have been rather above the average in ability and intelligence, and in justice to them, let it be added, in character and refinement. For judging by the account which the editor of the *Panola Star* gives of that assembly after he had returned from a visit to the capitol, it must have been composed of sorry specimens of humanity. His words are in part as follows:

"When we visited Jackson last week we took a 'bird's eye view' of the skunks as they appeared in their cage. Castello seemed to be trying to quit thinking about that \$130,000 he stole while sheriff of St. Louis county, Missouri. Barry, the forger and rake, looked as though he 'had his eye on something.' Bob Alcorn looked about like we imagined he felt at the time he was deposed from the Baptist ministry, for unwarranted indiscretions among his flock. Amos Drain, Mgr., seemed to be regretting that he was booted out of a gentleman's store in Canton recently. Orr had vivid dreams of the five hundred dollars he robbed the dead woman of in Pass Christian some months ago. Ozanne looked like a sheep-killing dog, and didn't deceive his looks very much either. Combash Stringer and the rest of the nigs seemed to think that they were in bad company, and we believe they were. Gill of New Jersey, sergeant-at-arms of the skunk cage, was booted from the gallery down two flights of stairs, and out at the front gate, by several delegates of the Democratic convention, for putting his shovel in where there was nothing for him."²⁶

A rather amusing incident, which caused much apprehension at the time for fear the Radicals would make political capital of it, happened in connection with Ozanne's services in the convention. The following letter, which he claimed to have received, appeared in a January (1868) number of the *Jackson Pilot*, a Radical newspaper then recently established at that place. While some Conservatives thought that it was a forgery, and that Ozanne claimed to have received it simply for the purpose of arousing sympathy for himself and making political capital out of it.²⁷ Yet it is altogether probable that he did receive it, and that it was intended to frighten him into a more popular course. The letter is short and reads as follows:

²⁵ *Panola Star*, November 2, 1867.

²⁶ *Panola Star*, February 29, 1868.

²⁷ *Panola Star*, January 25, 1868.

“——December 23, 1867.

Sir:—Under the present crisis, and the way you are holding your ‘Loyal Leagues,’ as you term them, we have come to the conclusion that your absence in the county is preferable to your presence; and also we think it advisable for you to leave here, and that inside of ten days. You had better go to your own kind and color—to Africa for instance. You had better take warning before it is forever and eternally too late. We have no use for such scoundrels in this county as you, and we think that you could do about as well, if not better, somewhere else.

(Signed) COMMUNITY GENERALLY.”

In a poem of considerable wit, humor, and satire permeated with vitriolic abuse, published in the *Brandon Republican* and copied in the *Panola Star* for May 16, 1868, the writer in paying his respects to Ozanne along with the other worthies in the Black and Tan Convention speaks as follows:

“Here’s a Tennessee Frenchman, varmint quite rare,
Caught up at Nashville, dressing gentlemen’s hair;
His sign is still there—let it ever remain
Hair-cutting and shaving by Frenchman Ozanne.”

The Radical constitution was completed, and on being submitted to the people on June 22, 1868, was defeated, 56,231 votes being cast for, and 63,860 against it in the State. The vote in Panola county gave sixty-three majority against the adoption. Coopwood of Tallahatchie county defeated Ozanne in the county for the State senate by a vote of 1,574 to 1,509. M. C. Brady, Democrat,²⁸ and one Allen were elected to the lower house of the legislature. The Democratic majority for the State ticket was sixty-four. The returns showed that in all about three hundred negroes in the county had been induced to vote the Democratic ticket.²⁹

The strenuous efforts made by the good people of the county and State, though successful at first, did not bring any permanent relief. Within a short time the civil government was superseded by military rule and during the early part of the year 1869 practically all the officials were removed from office and Governor Ames filled the vacancies by appointment. The county in that year came under the absolute control of the Republican carpetbaggers and negroes. There were no longer any specific general issues between the two parties. The situation now resolved itself into a death grapple for the preservation of

²⁸ Brady soon afterwards joined the Republicans and remained an ardent member of that party throughout the remaining portion of the reconstruction period.

²⁹ *Panola Star*, July 4, 1868.

Southern society and Southern civilization. From 1870 until November, 1875, in Panola county no quarters were asked nor given. There was no common ground upon which the Republicans and the Democrats might stand. It was a deathly struggle between brute force and numerical majorities on the one hand, and an Anglo-Saxon civilization on the other. Each party realized that it must stand, if at all, upon the grave of the other.

There were two local issues which aroused a great deal of partisan interest during the reconstruction period: namely, the changing of the county seat from Panola to Sardis, and the efforts made from time to time to divide the county, or to speak more accurately, to take a part of the county for the purpose of helping to form new counties. Several efforts of this kind were made during the years 1871-1875, but none of them materialized. They were almost inseparably connected with the question of removing the seat of justice from Panola to Sardis, and the sentiment in regard to the removal of the county seat had a great deal of influence upon the efforts to dismember the county. In February, 1871, a bill passed the lower house of the legislature to create a new county to be known as Webster, which was to be made out of the southern part of Panola, a part of Tallahatchie, and a part of Yalobusha, with a county seat at Harrison station, now known as Enid. The original bill called for the creation of the county of Yocona, but the committee to which it was referred reported it back with a substitute as above. Maj. A. R. Howe and J. H. Piles, the representatives of Panola county in the legislature at the time, opposed the bill and protested against its passage. According to this bill two hundred and forty square miles were to be taken from Panola county, leaving the northern boundary to extend entirely across the county from east to west two miles south of Batesville and three miles south of the court house at Panola. In March the bill was defeated in the senate.³⁰

A few weeks later J. H. Pierce, a resident of Oxford, Lafayette county, who had been chosen by the Republicans to represent Panola and Tallahatchie counties, introduced a bill into the senate to cut off that portion of Panola county south of Yocona river, including about twenty-five sections, and attach it to Tallahatchie county, making Yocona river the boundary; and to remove the seat of justice from

³⁰ *Panola Star*, March 25, 1871.

Panola to Sardis—the bill to take effect within sixty days. It passed the senate by a unanimous vote.³¹ A short time before this a bill had also been pending to create the county of Bell to be composed of the northern part of Panola and parts of adjoining counties.³² The people north of Tallahatchie river looked with much favor on the Pierce bill, for two reasons: First, because it was intended to give them the courthouse; and secondly, because they thought by giving up that part of the county on the south, efforts to divide the county on the north would forever cease. The Pierce bill was later amended so as to strike out the clause taking away a part of the county on the south, and in its amended form passed both houses of the legislature and was signed by Governor Alcorn on April 1, 1871.³³ On another occasion there was considerable danger that a part of the county would be taken to form a part of a new county of which Water Valley was to be the county seat. This prospective county was to be composed of an irregular strip of territory formed out of parts of Calhoun and Yalobusha counties, and a narrow strip of Panola county, embracing the southern portion of beat four. However the efforts to create this county never assumed any definite form and the proposition was dropped.³⁴ In 1873 when the bill was pending before the legislature to create Tate county,³⁵ in its original form it included a portion of Panola county, but was so amended in the house as to leave off that part of Panola originally included in the bill.³⁶ This was the last effort so far as the author has been able to discover to dismember any part of the county during the reconstruction period.³⁷

The location of the county seat of Panola county had been a bone of contention since the creation of the county in 1836. For the first three or four years after that time there was a strong rivalry between old Belmont, located on the northern bank of the Tallahatchie river, and Panola, located about ten miles down the river on the southern bank.

³¹ *Panola Star*, March 25, 1871.

³² *Panola Star*, March 25, 1871.

³³ *Panola Star*, April 1, 1871.

³⁴ *Panola Star*.

³⁵ There was at one time talk of naming this county *Pierce* in honor of the State senator.

³⁶ *Panola Star*, 1873.

³⁷ Several years later, after the Democrats had regained control of the State government, a small portion of the southwestern part of the county was taken to constitute a part of the new county of Quitman.

After much excitement and ill-feeling Panola gained the prize, and Belmont never recovered from the blow. From that time factional lines were drawn between the people north of the river and those south of it. This feeling in a more or less noticeable form appeared from time to time for the next twenty-five years, and although it was allowed to grow dormant during the troublous years of the war and the years of demoralization immediately following, no sooner had the apparent necessity of removing the seat of justice from the dying town of Panola to a more prosperous place presented itself than all the old rivalry and bitterness reappeared in an even more intensified form.

Only three years before the Pierce bill was passed, in December, 1868, the board of police had determined upon the construction of an iron bridge across Tallahatchie river, and in accordance with this determination had entered into negotiations with contractors for such work.³⁸ The necessity for the bridge had long been apparent, and ever since the war such an undertaking had been contemplated; but the county was already in debt several thousand dollars and the people were in financial distress. As a result no definite action was taken toward the construction of the bridge until the fall of 1868. The courthouse, being situated on the southern side of the river, which was a large and commanding stream, necessitated a great deal of travel across the river, and the use of ferries was inconvenient, unreliable and expensive. By an easier method of communication the people north and south would be more closely brought together, and such an increase in mutual relations would help much to allay sectional feeling. The contract for the work was let to Barbaroux and Company of Louisville, Kentucky. The bridge was to be sixteen feet wide and to cost \$25,000. The right of way across Tallahatchie bottom and the levee belonging to James L. Fletcher were bought for \$3,000. This also included his rights as the owner of the ferry which had been operating across the river since the county was settled. The right to travel across the bridge was to be free of charge. This was an innovation in the county as travelers had always before been required to pay toll to cross on the ferry. The contract to construct accesses to the bridge was let to J. L. Fletcher, and by the fall of 1869

³⁸ Minutes of board of police, 1868-1869.

the bridge was completed and ready for use. The entire cost of the iron bridge, the wood work, the levee, the right-of-way, and the accesses was, according to the *Panola Star*, about \$40,000.³⁹

Thus was intercourse between the two sections of the county greatly facilitated, and probably under more favorable circumstances the ill-feeling, which had so long existed might have been allayed, but it soon broke out anew. The Pierce bill, as has been said, became a law in April, 1871. The action of the legislature had been very sudden and, of course, created some surprise. Immediately after the passage of the bill a cry of protest went up from all parts of the county. Citizens south of Tallahatchie river claimed that the county seat was properly located at Panola, and that the heavy burden of taxation which would necessarily follow in order to build a new courthouse at Sardis, should not have been placed upon them at a time when prosperity was at such a low ebb. The people north of the river and those elsewhere who favored the change claimed as a cause for the removal that Sardis was a flourishing, growing town upon a railroad, and that on the other hand Panola was a dead town and unfit to remain longer the capital of the county. For several months there was a continuous controversy between the champions of the old and the new locations. Numerous letters on each side were published in the newspapers; mass meetings were held protesting against and condemning the action of the legislature; and efforts were made to have the measure reconsidered at the next session. A large body of citizens of beat four met and in very strong resolutions protested against the unnecessary expense attached to the removal, and suggested that the county be divided into two counties by a line extending from east to west one mile south of Sardis. In this way they would be relieved of the additional burden of taxation and would not be inconvenienced by the removal of the courthouse to Sardis. Efforts were made to make the location of the seat of justice an issue in the coming election. Thus were the white people in the two sections wrongfully drawn apart at the very time when union and concord was most essential to the welfare of the county.⁴⁰

But why, some one may ask, are these two questions to be called party measures? Where is the explanation for treating them as

³⁹ *Panola Star*, 1868-1869; minutes of board of police.

⁴⁰ *Panola Star*, 1871.

Republican or Democratic measures? It is true that they were questions that arose during the period of Republican control in the county; but how are they to be reckoned as Radical measures? These are questions which naturally arise in the mind of a person unfamiliar with the underlying principles and party methods of the Radical régime; and, although a little confusing at first, they are easily explained.

Both the question of dismembering the county and of changing the seat of justice were Radical measures. The efforts from time to time to take away portions of the county to aid in the formation of new counties were only a part of the general plan of the State Republican administration to construct new counties and redistrict old ones in such a way as to strengthen their representation in the various governmental departments, and at times to reinforce their party organization in various localities. The art of gerrymandering became a very fruitful political method in all parts of the State during the days of Radicalism.

The object of the removal of the county seat from Panola to Sardis was similar to that of creating new counties in the State, with the exception that the latter was a State-wide administrative plan, while the former was simply for the purpose of strengthening the Republican party in the county. Panola was a dying town and circumstances indicated that in course of time the seat of justice would necessarily have to be removed to a more flourishing and convenient place. The astute leaders of the Republican party in the county seized upon the opportunity to make political gain of the situation. The demoralized condition of labor, the poor condition of the people, the excessive amount of taxation, and the financial depression in general throughout the county, seems to have had little weight in the minds of the Radical politicians. They owned comparatively little property in the county, and their followers paid scarcely any taxes at all. The negro-carpet-bag legislature at Jackson was much more interested in strengthening party machinery than in building up the economic conditions of the country. The immediate motive which prompted the sudden removal of the courthouse to Sardis lay, according to reliable sources, in the expectation that by transferring the county seat to Sardis, the Republican administration would ingratiate itself with the white people living north of the river. There were no inducements to offer

the white people south of the river, and by giving the courthouse to the north side the Republican party in that section would be greatly strengthened. The results were not altogether disappointing, since the division and ill feeling which immediately followed greatly crippled the Democrats in the ensuing election in November, 1871.⁴¹

PARTY LEADERS (COUNTY AFFAIRS).

Urbain Ozanne, probably the most influential of the carpetbag trio in the county during the reconstruction period, was a European by birth, having been born according to common belief in France. Some years before the war, however, he came to America and settled at Nashville, Tennessee. During the war he kept in that city a fancy shop for selling hair, wigs, and other articles of similar character. He came to Panola county in 1866 or 1867, and settled on a farm a few miles east of Como. The following is an extract from an open address which Ozanne published in August, 1867, in answer to personal attacks made on him through the newspapers and otherwise:

"I am neither a person of Northern origin, who came south lying to the negroes, nor am I an imported scoundrel. I simply claim the title of a citizen of the United States by adoption, who has been a resident of the Southern States before and during the war, and came into Panola county in the exercise of my undoubted right as a citizen of the United States, to locate in any part of the country I see proper, and where I can enjoy the protection of the government of the United States. I did not come here as the emissary of any party, but for the purpose of pursuing peacefully the vocation I have chosen—that of a farmer."⁴²

It was about the time of the publication of this letter that Ozanne first began to make his appearance in politics. This was just after the enfranchisement of the negroes, and he and his few friends began to cultivate the goodwill of the negro population, to the great disgust of the native whites. About this time Ozanne became connected with the Freedmen's Bureau, but in just what capacity is not known. In October, 1867, he was nominated by the reconstruction county convention for the office of delegate to the constitutional convention

⁴¹ The final result of the quarrel over the location of the county seat was that in 1880, after the Democrats had regained control of the State government, the white voters south of the river being in the majority in the county, the county was divided into two court districts and Batesville was made the seat of justice of the second district.

⁴² *Panola Star*, August 31, 1867.

to be held in Jackson in January, 1868, and was elected without opposition, as the Conservatives did not put out any candidates. Of his record and standing in that body something has already been said.⁴³

From this time forward Ozanne was the leading figure in the Republican party in the county. Of the detailed account of his career until the overthrow of the Radicals in 1875 we shall learn later. Suffice it to say that he got the spoils of office throughout the period of carpetbag-negro rule, and wielded more influence over the negro population in the county than any other one man. He was a man of considerable ability, especially in carrying out the work which he undertook as the Radical party leader in the county. He was very successful in a financial way, and seems to have been a very good business man. He was unscrupulous and dishonest (according to statements of men who knew him), and these bad qualities became more and more conspicuous as his situation became more desperate in the latter part of the campaign of 1875.

He was the object of much bitter attack by Democratic leaders and Conservative newspapers, from the time in which he entered the political arena in 1867 until final overthrow. Of course, many things were said about him which were not true, and much ridicule was heaped upon him; still his career was altogether an unworthy one. The following is an illustration of some of the newspaper references made to him. The writer does not know upon what the hog-killing reference is based.

"ANOTHER CHAIN GANG BEAUTY.

"In the chain-gang menagerie at Jackson (Miss.), now engaged in the work of framing a constitution, so called, there is a contemptible creature by the name of Ozanne; U. Ozanne he writes himself, who represents the carpetbagger and negro thieves of Panola county. During the war this creature, Ozanne, lived in Nashville and was the keeper of a low lager beer saloon, which was frequented by negroes, thieves, and rowdies. While there he was the associate of the dregs of the city, and from his 'blue den' dealt out lager to degraded creatures who were not permitted to enter any reputable saloon. The next we hear from him is in Panola county where, we believe, he undertook to play the rôle of planter. For selling whiskey to negroes without license we are informed that the grand jury of Panola county found seven indictments against the honorable Ozanne, while an eighth was presented in consequence of his connection with a small hog killing affair!

"While engaged in planting and retailing whiskey to negroes, we are informed that Ozanne rode out one day to where some four negroes were at work for him.

⁴³ *Panola Star*, November 16, 1867, and personal interview with C. B. Vance.

Nearby were two good looking hogs which attracted the attention of the negroes; they asked Ozanne if those hogs belonged to him. 'No,' said the lovely disciple, 'but if you kill them you must give me one.' The hogs *were* subsequently killed, and one *was* turned over to Ozanne. Subsequently he claimed that the hogs belonged to him, and threatened the negroes that if they did not pay him twenty-five dollars each (one hundred dollars in aggregate) he would have them arrested and prosecuted. The money was paid, and the miserable dog did attempt to have the negroes indicted. The grand jury, however, knew the man, and his complaint was treated with contempt. And yet this fellow Ozanne is making a constitutional wonder which white people are expected to love. Ozanne pretends to be a great friend to the negro and doubtless is. His sympathy for 'Sambo' is of such an ardent and gushing quality that he would not have the slightest objection to rob him of his vote or his coat."⁴⁴

The following editorial appeared in the *Panola Star* a few days later:

"AN UNBLUSHING CUSS.

"One of the foulest of the ring-streaked and striped animals of the Jackson menagerie broke out of the cage last week, found his way by some mishap to Panola, and was inflicted on the people here for four or five days. The 'Loyal League' turned out to do homage to the beast, and had a grand jollification, we are told, at which the Dutchman presided. Verily the devil was loosed a little season 'in our midst.' Ozanne was himself again—that is to say, he was nobody. The nigs were glad, but decent whites hastened not to meet the dastardly cuss. We saw him at a distance, and must say that distance lends enchantment to the view—but the view doesn't return it. We are informed that he told the nigs to 'keep their armor bright,' that a war was made upon them, and that if they could but whip out the whites the booty and lands would belong to them. We tell the nigs to 'beware of false prophets,' and to watch habitual liars like Ozanne. He has deliberately lied to this community about the course he would pursue in the so-called convention and we can prove it, and dare him to force us to the test. If he puts himself up as a target he must expect to be shot at. He is as void of principle as a turnip is of blood, and we know it. In fact we think that the Ku Klux ought to deal with him, and then a special hell be instituted for his benefit."⁴⁵

A. R. and W. W. Howe, the other two carpetbag leaders besides Ozanne in the county, were brothers and natives of Massachusetts. A. R. Howe, as the records show, was born at Brookfield, in that State in January, 1840. It is presumed that W. W. Howe was born at the same place and that there was not much difference in their ages. They seem to have come from a rather cultured class of people, and A. R. Howe at least received a classical education. It is presumed that his brother was also well educated, though little is known of the latter's early life. They both enlisted in the Union army when the war broke out, and A. R. Howe attained the rank of Major before its close.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *Vicksburg Times*, March 19, 1868.

⁴⁵ *Panola Star*, March 21, 1868.

⁴⁶ *Congressional Biographical Directory*.

In December, 1865, the two brothers settled in Panola county on a farm a few miles west of Como, which was known as the Hunt place.⁴⁷ Little notice was taken of them during the first eighteen months of their stay in the county, as they lived like quiet, unassuming planters, and there is reason to believe that their future course was the result of circumstances and that they did not settle in the county because of any preconceived idea of political and official gain. Their first appearance in politics occurred in the early summer of 1867, when they were appointed as two of the three registrars of the county under the Reconstruction Acts of Congress of that year.⁴⁸ In the autumn of the same year A. R. Howe was elected with Ozanne as a delegate to the constitutional convention, which met at Jackson in January, 1868.⁴⁹ He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, in the summer of 1868; the convention that nominated Grant. In 1869 he was appointed county treasurer by Governor Ames, and was reappointed to that office by Governor Alcorn in 1870.⁵⁰ In January, 1872 he was succeeded by his brother. In the fall of 1870 he was elected to the legislature to fill out the unexpired term of the negro, C. A. Yancey, who had died in office, and he continued to serve in that capacity until 1872, during which time he filled many prominent positions in the legislature.⁵¹ In September of 1872 he was nominated for Congress by the Republicans of his district, defeating George E. Harris, the then present incumbent, and N. G. Gill of Holly Springs. In November he was elected by a large majority and was again nominated and reelected in 1874.

W. W. Howe was also a congressional registrar in 1867 and 1868, and upon the removal of all the civil officers in the spring of 1869 he was appointed a member of the board of police by Governor Ames.⁵² He was elected president of that body, and continued to serve until January, 1872, when he assumed the duties of county treasurer, having been elected to that office in the previous November election.⁵³ Throughout the period of Radical ascendancy he was a constant

⁴⁷ *Panola Star*, June 1, 1867.

⁴⁸ *Panola Star*, June 1, 1867.

⁴⁹ *Panola Star*, November 16, 1867.

⁵⁰ *Panola Star*, May 28, 1870.

⁵¹ *Panola Star*, December 24, 1870.

⁵² *Panola Star*, 1870

⁵³ *Panola Star*, November 11, 1871.

worker and organizer, and during most of the time was chairman of the Republican executive committee of the county.

The two Howe brothers were in many respects high toned gentlemen. They were unusually affable and pleasant, and had a special tact in making themselves agreeable among the Democrats in the county in a social way. They were according to good authority scrupulously honest in regard to their financial obligations, and in the business world they were unusually successful. They were considered wealthy when they came to the county, and it is a known fact that they paid \$25,000 for the large plantation which they owned three or four miles west of Como. In their home they were exceedingly hospitable. W. W. Howe seems to have been a more sturdy, deliberate man than his brother, and seems to have won the confidence and good will of the people to a greater degree than the latter. Albert was considerably more astute and brilliant and possessed more aggressive qualities than William. He also exerted a stronger influence than his brother in political matters. His aggressiveness in behalf of the Republican party caused him to be looked upon with distrust. A rather amusing incident is told, which shows in an exaggerated and crude way the different feeling some people had for the two men. During the campaign of 1875 there was a large negro Republican gathering at Sardis, and in the course of the speaking, a man by the name of Weller, a foreigner by birth, was called upon to address the crowd, and in the course of his remarks in referring to the Howes he said:

"Capt. W. W. Howe is a gentleman, drinks good whiskey and I like to drink it with him; but Maj. A. R. Howe is a DAMNED; HELL-FIRED SCOUNDREL!"⁵⁴

Of the leading Conservatives who deserve especial mention there were several who rendered extraordinary services during the entire period and especially during the campaign of 1875. Chief of them were Capt. R. H. Taylor, Capt. C. B. Vance, John C. Kyle, James G. Hall, J. B. Boothe, C. K. Caruthers, Capt. John Fowler, R. M. Kyle, Dr. J. H. Caldwell, N. R. Sledge, Sr., N. R. Sledge, Jr., S. Pollard, and Col. John R. Dickins.

Capt. R. H. Taylor was the son of a pioneer settler of Panola

⁵⁴Dr. A. A. Young.

county. He was reared in the county and lived there until the war broke out. In 1861 he joined Colonel Ballentine's regiment of Forrest's cavalry in the Confederate army, and served in this corps throughout the war, being in the last skirmish of Forrest's cavalry around Selma, Alabama. When the war closed he returned to Panola, and settled down to practice law and farm at old Panola. There he lived until 1873 when he settled at Sardis, upon the removal of the seat of justice to that place. Immediately after the war he entered the field of politics, becoming a candidate for district attorney in the October election in 1865, and when the contest between the Republicans and Democrats began in 1869 he placed himself in the front ranks of Democracy, and was most of the time at the head of that party in the county. In 1873, by reason of dissatisfaction and discord in the Republican party, he was elected to the State senate on a ticket with Ozanne as candidate for sheriff. During the latter years of his life he devoted his time and attention to his law practice and business interests. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1890, and was at one time a prospective candidate for governor.⁵⁵ He died in 1901.

John C. Kyle was born in Panola county, July 17, 1851. His grandfather and father came to Panola from middle Tennessee in the early forties. John C., being a mere boy, lived on his father's plantation during the war and the years immediately following. During the years 1870-1874 he was a student at Bethel College in Tennessee, and at Cumberland University, graduating in law at the latter place in June, 1874. He then practiced his profession for a short time at Batesville and in the early part of the year 1876 moved to Sardis. In 1878 Captain Taylor was succeeded in the senate by Captain Vance, and in 1881 Captain Vance was succeeded by John C. Kyle, who defeated Simpson Harmon, the nominee of the Greenback party, in a campaign equalled in intensity and vituperation only by the campaign of 1875. In 1886 Mr. Kyle was elected railroad commissioner by joint ballot of the legislature, and in 1890 was nominated on the 368th ballot for Congress. He was elected in November of that year, and served until March, 1897. He is now (1912) living at Sardis.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Goodspeed's Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*. II, 885.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 1085.

James G. Hall was born in 1847 in Tallahatchie county. He served in the Confederate army throughout the war. After the surrender he taught school and read law. He was soon admitted to the bar, and in 1868 became county attorney of Tallahatchie county, serving until the following year, when he was removed by Governor Ames because he could not take the amnesty oath. In 1871 he moved to Sardis, where he entered into partnership with L. P. Cooper, and later with J. B. Boothe. In 1882 he was appointed chancellor by Governor Lowry, and was reappointed in 1886. He died in January, 1890.⁵⁷ Judge Hall was one of the most learned lawyers of his district. He was a conscientious, hard worker; thoroughly devoted to his profession; a careful, painstaking chancellor. His work in aiding the Democrats to overthrow the carpetbag government, his career as a legislator, and his services as chancery judge combined to make him a great man, and a useful citizen.

James B. Boothe was born in Gates county, North Carolina, March 1, 1844. When he was only two years of age his parents removed to Mississippi, bringing their son with them. They first settled in Yalobusha county, but in 1855 removed to Tallahatchie county where young Boothe resided until 1861 when he entered the Southern army. During the war he was in the hottest of the conflict, serving in the army of Virginia. He took part in several skirmishes, and was in the battles around Richmond and Lynchburg, losing his right arm in the battle of the Wilderness. As a consequence of this permanent disability he returned home, and taught school for several months. In 1865 he was elected circuit clerk and served in that capacity until 1869, when he was removed from office by Governor Ames. The previous year he had been admitted to the bar, and from 1869 until 1874 he practiced law at Charleston. In the latter part of the year 1874 he removed to Sardis, where he formed a partnership with James G. Hall. He was prominently connected with local and State politics throughout the campaign of 1875, and for twenty-five years thereafter. He served as State senator from 1886 to 1890, and was a member of the constitutional convention of that year. He practiced law at Sardis and was made circuit judge in 1903. After serving four years on the bench he retired to his private practice in 1907, and is now

⁵⁷ Ibid., I, 841.

(1912) a member of the law firm of "Noel, Boothe, and Pepper" at Lexington, county seat of Holmes county, Mississippi.⁵⁸

Dr. C. K. Caruthers was born in middle Tennessee in January, 1837. He located in Panola county before the war and engaged in the practice of medicine. He served in the Southern army throughout the war, and later settled in Como, where he has since engaged in planting and merchandising. He was a member of the board of supervisors during the years 1876-1878, and was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1887, and to the State senate in 1889.

Calvin B. Vance was born December 26, 1844, on a cotton plantation in Panola county. He was the son of Elisha Quinby Vance, a native of Kentucky, who came into the county in 1836. He obtained his early education in the school of Panola county, and later attended the Kentucky Military Institute and the University of Virginia, but left the last named institution in 1861 to join the Southern army, in which he served throughout the war. In the war he became a lieutenant of artillery, was later commissioned captain. He was wounded at the siege of Vicksburg. From 1864 until 1875 he was engaged in managing his plantation, and during the years 1875-1878 edited the *Panola Star*.⁵⁹ During the troublous days of reconstruction he was unceasingly active in his efforts to break down carpetbag rule and to restore honest government to the State. In 1876 he was made brigadier-general of State militia, and from 1878 until 1882 was a member of the State senate, and after a lapse of nearly thirty years he was again elected to the senate in 1907. Captain Vance has always been a strong Democrat and was chairman of the Democratic executive committee during the strenuous campaign of 1875. He is a successful business man and is now (1912) engaged in attending to his business affairs in Panola county and elsewhere.⁶⁰

There were many other men who were scarcely less untiring in their efforts to overthrow the carpetbag régime, but the scope of this work forbids a detailed discussion of their lives.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 402.

⁵⁹ "Bibliographical Note" at end of this article.

⁶⁰ *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register*.

REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS.

Federal Troops.

In the early part of July, 1865, Major-General Osterhaus, commanding the district of Mississippi, divided the State into five sub-districts, and assigned Brig.-Gen. N. L. Smith to the command of the northwestern district, which was bounded on the east by the counties of Marshall, Lafayette, Calhoun, and Attala, and on the south by the counties of Madison, Yazoo, and Issaquena—and which included Panola county—with headquarters at Grenada. General Osterhaus and his subordinates issued orders from time to time in regard to the treatment of the negroes and the relations between them and the whites. Although these orders were perfectly fair toward the whites and showed no bitterness nor partisan spirit, they were issued to protect the negroes from the imposition of the less scrupulous whites, and to regulate the relations between the races. In the latter part of July an order was issued from headquarters at Grenada prohibiting the wearing of Confederate apparel, uniforms, and regalia, and commanding that every member of the late Southern army don citizens clothes at once. The object of the order was to efface from the minds of the public as quickly as possible all memories of the late "rebellion."⁶¹

In the latter part of July the first body of Federal troops was stationed at Panola. These soldiers were under the direction of the authorities at Grenada and Vicksburg. This garrison remained only a short time and late in August was sent to Vicksburg to be mustered out. But the county was not long relieved of the presence of troops. On September 13 a garrison of negro soldiers arrived at Panola, and if reports of the time be true it was not long before they began to make themselves offensive to the whites; for it is said that within forty-eight hours after their arrival they ransacked the potato patch and hen roost of one Squire Ballard, a justice of the peace at Batesville. Insolence and misbehavior seem to have characterized their daily conduct, and in October, 1865, we see a notice in the *Panola Star*, calling the attention of their commander, Lieutenant Thatcher, to their misconduct, stating that they were insulting to the people on

⁶¹ *Panola Star*, July 8, 1865.

the streets and to the whites in general. In a later notice of a similar character there is a protest against the negro troops drilling on the streets of Panola. At another time while on one of their raids through the surrounding country, they offered gross insolence to a prominent white citizen, and threatened to do him bodily harm—all without the least provocation. After a few weeks, however, in the latter part of November, the negro troops were withdrawn from the county, and for a long time thereafter the county was free from Federal bayonets.⁶²

In December, 1865, a body of citizens called upon Lieutenant Arringdale, who was in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau at Panola, and informed him that if he wanted assistance at any time to preserve order and enforce the law, and would call upon them, they would gladly help him, if he would not ask that a garrison be sent back into the county. He replied that he had been offered a garrison, but had declined to take it, and that he preferred calling upon the people for assistance in case he needed it.⁶³

Thereafter, as far as the records show, the county was free from Federal troops until the enforcement of the Congressional reconstruction measures. During the election on the adoption of the constitution in June, 1868, there was a small detachment of soldiers at Panola,⁶⁴ and during the early part of 1869, according to the official records, there was a small detachment of white soldiers stationed at Panola under the command of one Lieutenant Rosencrantz. After the establishment of the negro-carpetbag régime Federal troops were a potent factor in the county during elections. This condition of affairs, according to reliable reports, lasted until about 1871.

The presence of the negro troops had very bad effect upon the negro population. The soldiers in many instances were very aggressive in promoting the loyal leagues, and stood as a bulwark in defense of the negro ballot. They served as a steadfast barrier against the interference of the white people with the negroes' right of franchise, and it was not until their final withdrawal that the Democrats could make any gains in the way of controlling the elections.

⁶² *Panola Star*, October 28, 1865.

⁶³ *Panola Star*, December 16, 1865.

⁶⁴ According to the report of the Boutwell committee, which investigated the charges of corruption in that election, there were nine soldiers comprising this detachment at Panola.

Freedmen's Bureau.

By the middle of the summer of 1865 the Freedmen's Bureau was well established in the county. It exercised general supervision over the freedmen and their relation with their former masters. As early as August, 1865, there were orders issued requiring every man to make written contracts with the freedmen at once, not only for the present year but for the next year. These contracts were to be made out on blanks furnished by the provost-marshal, and under his supervision. In the latter part of the year 1865 Lieutenant Arringdale was placed in charge of the Bureau at Panola. He was a man of good, friendly disposition and did not incur the dislike of the whites, as did his successor.

During the period of active operation of the Freedmen's Bureau, Panola county formed a part of several districts or subdistricts at different times. For example, in 1865 it was part of the "Northern District of Mississippi;" in 1867, it formed a part of the "Grenada District" at one time, of the "Senatobia District" at another, and still later in that year it was a part of the "Subdistrict of Sardis." In 1868 it formed the "Subdistrict of Panola," with headquarters at Sardis. Because of the frequent changes in the administrative location of Panola county in relation to the Bureau, and the consequent changes in the district and subdistrict headquarters, and the more frequent changes in the personnel of the Bureau, it is impossible to get an exact, detailed account of the workings of each district as a unit. The operation of the Bureau as a Federal institution was discontinued in December, 1868.⁶⁵

From the records of the time there seems to have been no representatives of the Freedmen's Bureau in the county during the year 1866 and the first eight months of 1867. During this time harmony existed between the employer and the freedmen and everything went along in as satisfactory a manner as could be expected from the status of the labor system then in vogue. No complaints of unfair dealings on the part of the planters were made.

In commenting on this period the *Panola Star* says: "This state of affairs, however, did not suit the taste of those having charge of that unconstitutional

⁶⁵ Letter from the War Department at Washington, D. C., to the author.

concern (i.e., the Bureau), and either to give office to one of their favorites, or to goad the peaceable, law-abiding citizens of our county to violence, one of their characterless emissaries was sent into our midst.”⁶⁶

The person sent to Panola to take charge of the Bureau was D. S. Harriman, who came as a provost-marshal. From all accounts he was a man of little or no personal integrity or honesty, whose official judgments were usually in accordance with the wishes of the men who would furnish the most money, and whose despicable relations with the negroes was a constant source of annoyance to the whites of the county. The *Panola Star* says of him:

“The agent of their selection has proven himself to be regardless of every sense of justice and duty that did not tend to promote his own financial prosperity, and is worthy to be classed among the most reckless tools that ever pandered to an abandoned despotism. Regardless of the orders issued by the general commanding the military district he has dealt out that justice (!) which has paid him best.”⁶⁷

Harriman constituted himself the sole arbiter of disputes between the planters and the freedmen. He was accustomed to seize cotton himself or to cause it to be seized and shipped to an irresponsible house in Memphis, for which satisfactory returns were never made to the owners. In some instances on plantations where everything was working smoothly, it is said that he caused trouble by inciting the negroes to prefer claims against the white landowners, which never had any existence in fact. At times he arbitrarily issued orders prohibiting the removal of the crops without his permission. A specific instance to prove his personal dishonesty is the following: In a case carried before him for adjustment one Colonel Baker paid him a sum of money to decide in his favor.⁶⁸

Finally his rascality became so obvious that in December, 1867, he was arrested by the United States officers and carried away to stand trial on a charge of dishonesty in office. In the following manner the *Panola Star* describes this delectable feature of his career:

“OF WHOM WE SING.

“That incomparable skunk, D. S. Harriman, the ‘burro’ agent, who has been inflicted in this community for some time, was carried off last Tuesday by an officer of the United States under arrest. Whether he will return or not we are not informed, but as he took his ‘rags’ we are in hopes that he will not. Rumor

⁶⁶ *Panola Star*, November 30, 1867.

⁶⁷ *Panola Star*, November 30, 1867.

⁶⁸ Personal interview with Capt. C. B. Vance.

says he has gone to stand trial on a charge of bribery before the United States court at Oxford. Why don't they try him before the military commission, as he calls it? If General Ord will excuse the people of this county from his services in the future they will be very much obliged indeed. He only left a few bills unpaid, such as a balance on board at the hotel, office rent, washerwoman, and subscription to this paper for the time he was here; all of which the parties would gladly excuse him of, not to return again. Good-bye, Excescence, and may 'dark' visions ever lurk around your midnight dreams."⁶⁹

The following editorial, written about a month later, is self-explanatory:

"ALL QUIET ALONG THE POTOMAC.

"For the last two weeks everything has been unusually quiet and orderly, owing particularly to the absence of the excescence, Harriman, and especially to the absence of our lager beer Dutchman. The former, we are happy to state, is now confined in the very same cell in which Major McCardle was recently incarcerated, in Vicksburg, to await his trial for various thefts and rascalities. If he gets his deserts, he will be likely to enjoy the hospitality of the Dry Tortugas for about five years. So the negroes are more quiet and orderly than they once were."⁷⁰

Here is the sequel:

"RICHLY MERITED.

"We had hoped never again to pollute our columns with another notice of D. S. Harriman—one of Satan's noblemen—and next to Ozanne the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced Mother Earth. But we have something on him entirely too rich to keep well. On one occasion we passed a few left handed compliments with him in regard to the trial of General Foster by a military commission, during which he (that is, Harriman), avowed that 'no man ever received injustice at the hands of a military court.' Now keep up the thread of this little story. On another occasion while in dispute with a well-known gentleman of this place he violently swore 'that there was no *civil* law in Mississippi,' and that he regarded no action as valid which a civil officer, so called, might take. And now the gist comes in. For thieving and accepting bribes, he was sentenced by a military commission to one year in the State penitentiary and a fine of fifty dollars. The vagabond here—sneaking back to first principles in regular Radical style—appealed to the civil authorities which he so lately ignored and despised, to be released on a writ of habeas corpus; but Judge Hill, knowing as he does, who to kick, 'couldn't see it,' so he was remanded to the aforesaid prison to serve out his time. This is Radical consistency exactly. They have no use for civil law except when it will, by maladministration, cover some damning crime for them. Outside of this little matter Harriman was a boon companion of Ozanne, and that alone should be enough to sink him into unfathomable infamy."⁷¹

Harriman's successor in office was a person by the name of M. Lathrop, who was later appointed sheriff by Governor Ames. He

⁶⁹ *Panola Star*, December 21, 1867.

⁷⁰ *Panola Star*, February 1, 1868.

⁷¹ *Panola Star*, March 24, 1868.

was a native of California, and had only recently come into the county as a representative of the carpetbag régime.⁷² He conducted himself in a much more honorable way than did his predecessor, and did not incur the hatred which fell to the lot of the latter. Besides these persons, J. H. Pierce and Ozanne were connected with the Bureau in the county. Pierce was the agent at Sardis in 1868, and Ozanne was connected with the Bureau at Panola or Sardis about the same time.

In such great contempt was the Bureau system held by the people of the county that the editor of the *Panola Star* for months continuously placed at the masthead of his paper the following parody on the popular lines from Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel:"

"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
G-d d—n the Freedmen's Bureau."⁷³

The Bureau was discontinued about the latter part of 1868 or the early part of 1869.

Loyal League.

The organizations known as the loyal leagues existed in the county throughout the reconstruction period. Their object was to solidify and unite the negro element under the standard of Republicanism. The leaders in these organizations were mainly the carpetbaggers in the county, Ozanne, A. R. and W. W. Howe, also D. S. Harriman, the corrupt and despicable agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, of whose inglorious career as a citizen of the county much has already been said. These white aliens were assisted by the leading negroes in the Republican ranks, chief among whom, were Scot Martin, Jim Brown, Josiah T. Settle, and J. H. Piles. The institution had organizations throughout the county, the leading ones being directly under the control of the carpetbaggers.

The principal character connected with the organization of the leagues, and especially aggressive in arraying the negroes against the whites was a man by the name of Bosley, of whose life practically nothing is known. He was probably a carpetbagger, and had come

⁷² *Panola Star*, December 21, 1867.

⁷³ *Panola Star*, December 7, 1867.

South in order that he might have a better opportunity to exercise his base propensities as a disturber of mankind. He settled on the plantation owned by the Howes, and these men became his political mentors, although his conduct was much more reprehensible than was theirs. From vague, though convincing, sources we come to the conclusion that he made it his sole occupation to meet with the negroes, to organize and perfect dens of the loyal league, and to keep aglow in all of them the fires of race hostility. In this way he came to wield a great influence over the negro population in the northwestern part of the county.

The following incident illustrates the power which the Howes and Bosley came to have over the negroes west of Como. Col. J. C. Brahan, a wealthy planter, who owned a plantation adjoining that of the Howes, was a man of high standing in the community, and a representative of one of the most illustrious families in the county. He possessed a vast amount of general knowledge and considerable literary attainments, and was a man who was open in expressing his opinion as to matters of public interest at the time. He was a frequent contributor to the *Panola Star*, his contributions being in the form of letters published under the initials "J. C. B.;" and it was in this way that he incurred the hostility of the Howes. In several very strong letters published in the county paper he bitterly charged the Howes with utilizing their plantation as a rallying ground for loyal leagues, and as a hot-bed of racial strife. His remarks were caustic and bitter, and his charges were calculated to place the Howes in an exceedingly bad light before the white people of the county. A. R. Howe published a rejoinder, vigorously denying the charges. However, Brahan was unrelenting, and as a result the influence of the Howes and Bosley made it impossible for him to get laborers for his plantation. The negroes absolutely refused to live on his place.⁷⁴

The Federal troops stationed in the county from time to time were another source of encouragement and protection to the loyal leagues. With the presence of troops during the elections and at other times the whites were powerless to counteract the efforts of the leagues.⁷⁵

Almost continuously throughout the reconstruction decade, and

⁷⁴ Dr. A. A. Young, *Panola Star*, March 7, 1868.

⁷⁵ Capt. C. B. Vance.

especially during the time of political campaigns and elections, the negroes would gather in large numbers in the evening about sunset at negro churches and schoolhouses, beat their drums and at times show signs of semi-savage hostility toward the whites. As the result of this conduct the whites were kept in constant alarm, lest in the end they should be hurled into the dreadful throes of a remorseless war between the races. To the loyal leagues in Panola county, as in other parts of the South, is to be attributed the cause of the strained relations between the two races during the years immediately following the close of the war. "It was to cope with these great dangers," says the grand cyclops of the Klan, "that gave rise to the organization or order known as the Ku Klux Klan."⁷⁶

DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS.

Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan had two regular organizations in the county, one north and the other south of the river. There were three regular dens south of the river—one near Batesville, another in beat four, in what is known as the Black Jack neighborhood, and another in beat three, near what is known as Benson's Mill. The last named den was rarely assembled, and consequently was of less importance than the other two. There were, so far as is known, only two dens north of the river—one in the northwestern part of the county near Peach Creek, and the other near Sardis. At the head of the Klan in Panola county were two grand cyclops—one on each side of the river.⁷⁷ One of these leaders is still living (1912), and there are numbers of the klansmen scattered over all parts of the county today. But so oath-bound, compact, and rock-ribbed, was the mystic organization, that to this day, after a lapse of more than forty years, the greatest reticence marks the conduct of the remaining members of the Klan, when questioned about the inner workings of the order. It is, therefore, impossible to get a full account of their work.

The object of the organization was to counteract the influence which the nefarious reconstruction principles had upon the negroes,

⁷⁶ Capt. C. B. Vance.

⁷⁷ Capt. C. B. Vance.

particularly the evil effects of the loyal leagues and the work of the carpetbaggers. The negro population outnumbered the white two to one, and the policy of the administration at Washington forced the Southern leaders to adopt extraordinary measures for protecting the lives and fortunes of their people, and for preserving the Anglo-Saxon civilization which their forefathers had developed. The purpose of the Klan was to overawe the superstitious negro population, and instill into them fear of superhuman powers, if they assumed an aggressive attitude in social and political matters. The methods of the regular Klan were, so far as possible, free from violence. Force was undertaken as a last resort. The regular Klansmen were scrupulously opposed to the shedding of human blood, and as a result tactics were usually adopted which worked on the superstition of the negroes.

On one occasion when the Klan undertook to break up a nocturnal meeting of the negroes, they attired themselves in the long ghostly robes of their order—a white gown extending from the head to the feet, with eyes, nose, and mouth represented in their proper places, and the fiery cross engraven across the chest—and having ridden to the meeting house of the negroes, on horseback, they dismounted, joined in line, and entered through the doorway, uninvited and unannounced, and marched in deathly silence up to the front of the room, and took their seats on a long bench near the speaker's stand. Not a word was spoken, and not a sign made. The awe-stricken negroes fled from the house in the wildest dismay, and in a few seconds not one of their number was to be found anywhere in the neighborhood. Such were the tactics adopted by the Klan, and according to reliable sources they were adhered to at all times when practicable. When violence was used it was only because other methods were inadequate. Many deeds of wanton violence committed in those troublous times and attributed to the Klan, were the work of irresponsible and lawless persons, who were not in any way connected with the Klan, and who made their nocturnal attacks under the deceptive disguise of that order.

Many interesting incidents connected with the history of the Ku Klux Klan are related from time to time by the older citizens of the county to the younger generations in much the same way, and with the same interest, as are the folklore tales which are handed down from generation to generation among less civilized peoples. The years of

active operation of the regular Klan extended from about the year 1867 until the disbandment of the order in 1869 or 1870. One of the high officers of the Klan in Panola county says:

"It was amusing, when the Ku Klux Klan went to a negro meeting, garbed in their white, ghostly costumes. Nothing could stay the superstition of the negro, and on those occasions window sashes were no bar to his making his escape."

On one occasion the Klan north of the river from the Peach Creek neighborhood made an expedition across the northern part of the county, and built a magnificent bonfire in the streets of the town of Sardis, between the railroad and the business section of the town.⁷⁸

As an illustration of the methods used by the Klan, the following account of a visit paid by the order to the negro quarters on the plantation of J. M. Kyle, about four and one-half miles east of Batesville, is here given: The time was in the late fall of the year; a good crop had been made; and the price of cotton was high; so that the negroes had some extra money left after paying their yearly accounts. A band of Klansmen rode up to the quarters, and called the negroes out. They were very much frightened. One of the women, thinking that they had come to do bodily harm to them, ran into a cabin and got a little sack of money and offered it to the leader. With an oath he refused it, saying that they had not come there for money. He told one of the negroes to bring him a drink of water. The negro went to a nearby well and got a cupful for the Klansman. When he offered it to him the Klansman, with another oath, told him to bring him a bucketful of water. This the negro did, and the Klansman drank it all, and told the negro to bring him another bucketful, saying at the same time that he was very thirsty, as he had had nothing to drink since he left Hell three days before. After a few words of advice to the negroes as to their future conduct, and after having secured all the firearms in the negro quarters, the Klansman rode to the residence of Mr. Kyle, causing some of the negroes to follow. They went into the house and into Mr. Kyle's bedroom. The object of this, it is supposed, was to show the negroes that Mr. Kyle was at home and had nothing to do with the nocturnal visit.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Capt. J. B. Mitchell.

⁷⁹ Senator A. S. Kyle.

In the fall of 1869 there was a rather sharp skirmish between a body of the Ku Klux Klan and the county officials, on a farm about three and one-half miles east of Batesville. There was a negro living on that farm who had brought upon himself the displeasure of the Klan. Consequently the Ku Klux decided to pay him a visit. By some mishap the sheriff at Panola, getting wind of it, forthwith provided himself with a corps of deputies and proceeded to the designated place. When the armed force and the Klansmen met, a sharp battle ensued, in which about one hundred shots were fired. One Klansman was wounded and two of the uniforms of the order were captured. In the course of the conflict the owner of the farm became so badly frightened that he jumped from his window, clad in his nightgown, and fled across the country about a mile to his neighbor's house.⁸⁰

Probably none of the Klansmen in the county were ever detected, or carried before the United States court for trial. In the very exhaustive investigation made by the Boutwell Congressional committee in the Ku Klux affairs in the South, and published in thirteen volumes, two of which were devoted to conditions in Mississippi, there is no testimony in regard to the working of the Klan in Panola county, nor did a single citizen of the county testify before that committee. However, there was an effort made to bring to trial several leading men of the county for complicity with the Klan. In the early part of February, 1868, Dr. P. M. Miller, P. W. Perry, Andrew Dickins, Robert Dickins, John Murdock, and Robert Gregg were peremptorily arrested by the order of General Gillem, presumably, and were brought to Panola and placed in jail. On the next night they were taken to Vicksburg. A few weeks later Dr. Miller was dismissed and returned home. The charge against him was that he owned a mule named "Pete," and the mule was not at home upon a certain night when certain acts were done by the Klan. Therefore Dr. Miller was suspected and arrested. The truth was that "Pete" had been loaned or hired to a neighbor for a few days. This accounted for his absence. Andrew Dickins returned home in the latter part of April and the others followed shortly thereafter. As far as is known no serious prosecution of them was ever made.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Messrs. A. S. Kyle and J. C. Kyle.

⁸¹ *Panola Star*, February 20, 1869.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT.

When the war closed the officials in the county were those who had been elected under the government of the Confederacy in the fall of 1864, and who had gone into office in January, 1865. Among these were several of the leading men of the county at the time.

James L. Fletcher was sheriff. His home was in the town of Panola, and he owned a large tract of land west of Panola in Tallahatchie bottom. It is an interesting fact that this man who was deposed as sheriff at the close of the war, was reelected to the same office in 1875 when the reconstruction régime was overthrown. Orville Harrison, a worthy and meritorious man, was probate judge. He had been a Whig before the war, and continued very conservative during the reconstruction period until his death in 1873. Wylie P. Wooten, a resident of the town of Panola, was the efficient probate clerk and clerk of the board of police. John C. Harrison, of whom much has already been said, was circuit clerk. C. L. Rallings was county treasurer.

The board of police consisted of A. A. Oglesby, president; George R. Hunt, George Polk, Sebron S. Smith, and Richard Fowler, all of whom were very able men. At the regular meeting of the board in May, 1865, a large part of the time was taken up in providing relief for the indigent poor and orphans in the county, and in adjusting the county revenue. An examination into the records will show that there was an exceedingly varied currency to deal with, and the business of adjusting finances was not a very simple one. The board ordered that the county treasurer might receive in payment of taxes, State treasury notes, treasury warrants of the county of every description, notes of any solvent Mississippi State bank, or solvent banks of any other State, and gold and silver coin, all of which constituted the medium of circulation at the close of the war. The board of police adjourned in May, 1865, and did not meet again until September of that year.

On May 22, 1865, the civil government of the State was abrogated by the arrest of Governor Clark by military authority, and the seizure of the public records. This action on the part of the military authorities deprived the State of even a semblance of a government, and created a feeling of unrest and apprehension in the minds of the people.

This condition of affairs continued until June 13, when President Johnson issued a proclamation as commander-in-chief of the army, appointing William L. Sharkey provisional governor of Mississippi. Judge Sharkey was an Old Line Whig, who had served for many years as chief justice of the State of Mississippi, and his appointment was welcomed as a relief by those who felt the dangers of a State with no government at all.

On July 1, 1865, Governor Sharkey issued a proclamation in reference to the local and municipal governments throughout the State. He did not recognize the Confederate officials as legally elected, but to avoid the delay which would necessarily occur by the summary dismissal of all county officers and the filling of vacancies by appointment, Governor Sharkey announced that persons who held office on May 22, 1865, would continue therein unless removed later by special order. Of course, only those officers retained their positions, who subscribed to the amnesty oath presented in the President's proclamation of the 29th of May, 1865; provided they were not disqualified on account of being exempt from the benefits of the amnesty, unless first specially pardoned by the President.

As has been said, Samuel Matthews and L. P. Cooper, who were probably Old Line Whig, and both very conservative men, were elected in August, 1865, to represent the county in the convention called by Governor Sharkey to revise the constitution so as to conform to the new conditions which the war had created. The convention met, pursuant to call, and after considerable discussion at various times adopted the necessary provisions, the chief of which were as follows: They declared the ordinance of secession "null and void;" recognized the abolition of slavery; and called a general election for the first Monday in October.

During the month of September, 1865, a number of candidates announced for office in Panola county, including many of the strongest and ablest men. The election in October passed off very quietly. The total vote cast was 1,049, which was only about 75 per cent of the largest vote cast before the war, but it represented practically the entire voting population at the time. Fisher carried the county for governor by an overwhelming majority. The following men led the ticket in the county for State officers: secretary of State, C. A. Brougher; treasurer, J. H. Echols; auditor, I. F. Swann; attorney-

general, C. E. Hooker; judge of high court of errors and appeals, W. L. Harris; Congress, A. E. Reynolds; circuit judge, James F. Trotter; district attorney, R. H. Taylor. H. Mosley was elected State senator, and Col. Freeman B. Irby, J. J. Meek, and A. I. Ellis were elected to the lower house of the legislature. Judge Orville Harrison, Wylie P. Wooten, and John C. Harrison were elected to succeed themselves. J. Floyd was elected sheriff. The new board of police consisted of Joseph Carter, James Lewers, S. S. Smith, Peter Hubbard, and Thomas E. Clarke, the last of whom was elected president of the board.⁸² Soon afterwards Smith resigned, and Thomas F. Boyle was elected to succeed him. At its December meeting in 1865 the board levied a special tax of 50 per cent upon the special tax levied on cotton by act of the legislature, to be used for general county expenses.

It will be noted that the great questions which confronted the board of police at the time were those of dealing with the finances of the county in such a way as not to cripple the poverty stricken taxpayer, and of providing for the poor in the county. According to the minutes of the board of police in 1865 there were in January of that year 1,026 members of indigent families of soldiers in the county, and it is reasonable to suppose that this number was increased during the few months succeeding. In April, 1866, there were 300 indigent orphans in the county of educable age.⁸³ In the autumn of 1865 the legislature made a partial provision for those who had suffered by reason of the war, by enacting that 20 per cent of the revenue of the State be reserved annually to constitute a fund for the relief of destitute and disabled Confederate soldiers, and their widows; and for the support and education of the indigent children of the same. There was also a provision passed by the legislature providing that the county board of police be empowered to levy a tax of one dollar on each freedman, negro, or mulatto, for the purpose of creating a Freedman's Pauper Fund, in order that the freedmen might be made to support their own paupers. In May, 1866, the general debt of the county was \$14,128.87.⁸⁴

Little interest was manifested in the election of county and dis-

⁸² *Panola Star*, October 6, 1865.

⁸³ *Panola Star*, April, 1866.

⁸⁴ County treasurer's report, *Panola Star*, for May, 1866.

district officers in October, 1866, about 1,200 votes being cast. A. M. Clayton carried the county for circuit judge, and N. C. Taylor carried the county by five votes over George E. Harris for district attorney. J. C. Harrison, Orville Harrison, and W. P. Wooten were reelected. Robert B. Jones was elected sheriff, having secured a plurality of votes over his three opponents. David J. Goff was elected treasurer, and R. W. Terry, tax assessor. When there was more than one candidate for any office, the man receiving the highest number of votes was elected.

By the beginning of the year 1867 a new system of civil government had been established in the county, as had also occurred throughout the State, according to the plan of reconstruction outlined by President Johnson. But the labor which the white people of the South had expended in their efforts to build up a system of government based upon the principles growing out of the results of the war, was almost in vain. The Radical leaders at Washington were very busy throughout the winter months of 1866 and 1867, and the results of their labors were given to the country on March 2, 1867, in the form of the military reconstruction bill, according to the provisions of which the ten States formerly comprised in the Confederacy were divided into five military districts, of which Mississippi and Arkansas constituted the fourth. Maj.-Gen. E. O. D. Ord was placed in command of this district with headquarters at Vicksburg, and immediately under him was Gen. Alvin C. Gillem, who had charge of Mississippi.

The purpose of this Congressional measure was to enfranchise the negro, and by so doing to guarantee the continued control of national politics by the Republican party. By virtue of the provisions of this act, along with those of the supplementary act passed March 23, General Ord issued an order for a general registration to be held during the summer of 1867, an account of which has already been given. On June 4, General Gillem was succeeded by Gen. Irving McDowell who a few days later, issued an order for the removal of Governor Humphreys and Attorney-General Hooker, on the ground that they were obstructing the enforcement of the reconstruction laws. Gen. Adelbert Ames was ordered to assume the duties of provisional governor, and Capt. Jasper Myers was placed in charge of the attorney-general's office. Ames went to Jackson and informed Governor Humphreys of what had been done, whereupon the governor denied

their constitutional right to displace him; and he refused to give up the official records and the mansion. On the following day he was forcibly ejected from his office in the capitol by a detail of soldiers under the orders of Colonel Biddle, post-commandant at Jackson. Thus was the civil government violently overthrown in the early summer of 1867.

For several months, however, after the establishment of military government in the State, the local county governments were left intact. But this policy of allowing the Democrats to retain control in the counties did not meet the approval of the carpetbaggers, who clamored for the "rebels" to be turned out; and in response to the urgent solicitations of these men, Congress in the early part of 1869 passed a joint resolution declaring that all officeholders of Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas, who could not take and subscribe to the oath of July, 1862, should be removed from office, and the vacancies filled by the military commander. Some time before this the power of the military had been felt in Panola county. On August 18, 1868, R. B. Jones had been peremptorily displaced as sheriff of the county and M. Lathrope, whose connection with the Freedmen's Bureau has already been noted, was appointed to succeed him. In the early weeks of 1869 J. C. Harrison was removed from the office of chancery clerk, and the Radical J. H. Pierce appointed to succeed him. In this way was that notorious scalawag introduced into the county. Some other changes were made about the same time. Orville Harrison was displaced as probate judge, and B. F. Crowell was appointed in his place. Thomas E. Clark had resigned as president of the board of police to become sheriff, whether by election or appointment the records do not clearly show. On March 23, 1869, General Ames issued general order number 16, declaring that "all civil offices in this district which have been held by persons whose legal disabilities have not been removed, and who cannot take the oath prescribed by act of Congress, July 2, 1862, are vacant." In accordance with this order all county offices had to be filled by appointment. On the first of May the personnel of the county government inaugurated by Governor Ames was as follows: Probate judge, U. Ozanne; probate clerk, J. H. Pierce; sheriff, W. C. McGowan; treasurer, Albert R. Howe; assessor, J. K. Oliver; board of police, W. W. Howe, president, W. A. Jones and A. W. Patton.

Thus by negro enfranchisement and military appointments was the county government placed firmly in the hands of the Radicals. For the next six years the offices of the county were filled by carpetbaggers, scalawags, and ignorant negroes, and its civilization was subjected to the undermining influences of African barbarism. In the elections in 1869 and 1871 the small number of white votes cast was hopelessly buried in the mass of negro votes. The Radical ticket each time was elected by a large majority. In 1869 James L. Alcorn, the Radical candidate for governor, carried the county over Judge Dent, the Constitutional Unionist candidate, by 1,477 majority; C. A. Yancey and J. H. Piles, the two negro candidates, were elected to the legislature by a majority of about 1,450 votes; J. H. Pierce was elected to the senate to represent Panola and Tallahatchie counties, comprising the twenty-fourth senatorial district, by 1,730 majority, having received about 1,450 majority in Panola county.

The above named officers, appointed by Governor Ames, continued in office until the following year. In February, 1870, Mississippi was readmitted into the Union, and Governor Alcorn, who had just been inaugurated, was given power to put in operation the civil government independent of the military. Within the first two or three months subsequent to the readmission of the State, he made new appointments in each county. In May, 1870, the following men had been appointed to office in Panola county: Chancery clerk, J. H. Pierce; sheriff, U. Ozanne; circuit clerk, C. H. Gleason; treasurer, A. R. Howe; assessor, W. A. Jones; supervisors, beat one, S. H. Ricks; beat two, W. W. Howe; beat three, Jeff Mitchell; beat four, Sidney Mitchell; beat five, Henry Alston. At the same time Governor Alcorn also appointed John A. Polk, one of the editors of the *Panola Star*, mayor of Panola; W. W. Mitchell, a leading citizen of the town, mayor of Batesville; Samuel F. Dunlap, mayor of Sardis; and also a board of aldermen and a constable for each of these three towns.

Pierce, the newly appointed chancery clerk, under the new constitution under which the State had been readmitted, served in his new capacity only a short time, and resigned to accept the more lucrative position of United States marshal for the northern district of Mississippi. He removed to Oxford in Lafayette county, but at the same time continued to represent Panola and Tallahatchie counties in the State senate. By this time Ozanne had risen to the highest posi-

tion in the county, that of sheriff, which office he continued to hold until the revolution of 1875. A. R. Howe was reappointed treasurer and continued to serve in that capacity until succeeded by his brother in January, 1872. C. H. Gleason held the office of circuit clerk and W. A. Jones that of assessor during the remainder of the reconstruction period. On account of the unsettled State of the government during the spring of 1870 there was no meeting of the board of supervisors from February to June of that year. In December there was a special election held to fill the vacancy in the lower house of the legislature caused by the death of C. A. Yancey, in which election A. R. Howe was chosen by a vote of 728 to 22. Practically no interest was taken in the election, the Democrats making no effort to canvass the county.

When the time came to make nominations for the various offices to be voted on in the November elections in 1871, the Conservative party entered assiduously into the contest in spite of the great odds against them. On July 31 of that year a Conservative meeting was held at Panola, over which Simpson Lester presided. Capt. C. B. Vance in a brief speech stated the object of the meeting, and dwelt at some length upon the wrongs inflicted upon the people of the county by an extravagant and wasteful use of public moneys, and denounced in unmeasured terms the Radical régime in the county and State. Resolutions were adopted looking toward the organization of a Conservative convention for the purpose of nominating a ticket for the coming election. Four weeks later another meeting was held at the same place, which was largely attended by members of both races, the number of negro and white delegates being the same. H. G. Crozier presided and explained the object of the meeting to be the nomination of candidates for county offices and the adoption of resolutions expressive of the sentiment of the convention upon political issues. It was decided that in all voting contests in the convention each beat should be allowed the same number of votes. Resolutions were adopted condemning Radicalism in all its aspects, and pledging the Conservative candidates for the legislature to use their efforts in every way to pass an act to refer to the vote of the county the question of the removal of the seat of justice from Panola to Sardis. The following ticket was nominated: Legislature, John Bryant, J. L. Knox, and William Hall (colored); sheriff, Jesse C. Wright; chancery

clerk, W. S. Hudson; circuit clerk, D. F. Breckinridge; assessor, R. W. Terry; treasurer, N. J. Benson.

The white candidates for the legislature were old citizens of the county of high standing. The colored candidate, William Hall, was an old negro who had lived in the county since long before his emancipation. W. S. Hudson was a man of good business qualities, who had been probate clerk in Calhoun county and had removed to Panola several years before. D. F. Breckinridge the candidate for circuit clerk, had been reared in the county, was an ex-Confederate soldier, and had lost one leg in the war. R. W. Terry had been elected assessor in 1866 and had been removed on account of not having been able to take the test oath. Capt. N. J. Benson and J. C. Wright were two of the best known citizens of the county.

There seems to have been dissatisfaction in regard to some of the nominations made by the convention held in August. Some of these nominees withdrew, though it is not known whether this friction was the cause of their action. In order to fill the vacancies on the ticket another convention was held at Sardis, October 9, 1871. This convention was characterized by much interest and good will, and did a great deal to allay the strained feeling that had arisen over the matter of changing the county seat. As a result of the meeting, besides nominations for some smaller offices, Freeman Randolph was nominated for the legislature to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John Bryant, and Capt. J. J. Meek was nominated for circuit clerk, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of D. J. Breckenridge. A county executive committee was also appointed and directed to appoint subcommittees for each district, in order to cooperate with one another in waging an effective campaign. The meeting was addressed by Col. H. W. Walter, James Hall (a candidate for district attorney), J. J. Meek, and Dan Matthews. After these speakers had finished Col. W. B. Johnson and Guilford Vaughan (colored) were called for and made speeches.⁸⁵

The Republican convention of the county met early in October. After endorsing the Republican platform, it unanimously adopted a resolution declaring opposition to any division of the county that would subtract from its northern territory, and to any attempt that

⁸⁵ *Panola Star*, October 14, 1871.

might be made to repeal the act of the legislature making Sardis the county seat. This shows how the Republicans were playing to divide the white vote, and thus to secure for themselves a part of the votes north of the river.

An aggressive campaign was carried on by both parties during the month of October and the first week of November. The conservatives made a good fight, but they could certainly have had no definite expectations at any time of carrying the election. In contending against such odds the whites were of course inevitably beaten. The election, which took place November 7, was quiet and peaceful at all the precincts. The majority of the lowest man on the Radical ticket was over 900. This being the majority claimed by them on the registration books, showed that the entire negro vote was Radical with few exceptions, and these exceptions were filled up by a corresponding number of white men who voted the Radical ticket. At all precincts except Sardis the white vote was solidly Conservative with the exception of a few votes which went to J. C. Harrison, who ran ahead of his ticket in the county about 350 votes. The registered vote of the county was about 4,400, and the total number of votes polled was about 4,286, being nearly the entire vote. The Radical majority in the county was about 925 votes, and taking the vote of 1869 as the test of the Radical strength, this shows a decrease of 550 votes in Panola county.⁸⁶

The Conservative party carried the election south of the river. Como gave a Radical vote of 450 to a Conservative vote of 55 or 56. Peach Creek gave a Radical vote of 445 to a Conservative vote of 95. The largest proportional white vote was cast in beat four at Springport and Eureka. Panola and Sardis gave heavy negro majorities. The entire Radical ticket was elected, the personnel of which was about the same as that of the administration which had gone into office the year before. Ozanne was elected sheriff; C. H. Gleason, circuit clerk; J. C. Harrison, chancery clerk; W. W. Howe, treasurer; and W. A. Jones, assessor. A. R. Howe, J. H. Piles (negro), and John Cocke (negro) were elected to the legislature. The board of supervisors was a mongrel mixture of negroes, scalawags, and Conservatives. However the two Conservative members along with the Radical white

⁸⁶ *Panola Star*, November 11, 1871.

Gunter, who was a taxpayer, constituted a majority, and the county had some hope of a reasonably sound administration of the county affairs. Among the beat officers, besides the two supervisors (from beats three and four), four magistrates and two constables were elected on the Conservative ticket, while the rest of the officers were Radical. In beat five three negro magistrates and two negro constables were elected, only one of whom was able to read or write. J. C. Duval was the only one of the four magistrates in the beat who was able to discharge the duties of the office. John Cocke, the new member of the legislature, could neither read nor write.⁸⁷

The following incident which took place at a meeting of the Republicans at Sardis on April 27, 1872, throws considerable light on the character of reconstruction meetings in general. The Republican convention met as usual, for the purpose of electing delegates to go to the State Republican convention at Jackson, which was to nominate delegates to the national convention to be held at Philadelphia for the purpose of nominating the presidential ticket. As usual there were few whites present but a large number of negroes, and all the whites present were office-holders. The meeting had not long been assembled before considerable dissension arose. The committee to select delegates returned their lists—six delegates and six alternates—and upon the report of the committee Ozanne made a motion that the name of M. C. Brady be substituted in the place of that of J. H. Pierce as a delegate, and urged this change in forceful language upon the grounds that his party was composed of three classes—negroes, Northern whites, and scalawags, and he contended that the scalawags should be represented by Brady. A lengthy discussion ensued in which Brady charged Pierce with being a non-resident of the county and with having failed to do his duty as a member of the legislature. To these charges Maj. A. R. Howe replied, defending Pierce and claiming that the latter resided in the town of Sardis; after which Ozanne spoke against Pierce, and declared that he would not follow his party in such a course, and that he wished honesty and justice for all, no matter if one of his party had to be stricken down in the undertaking. This incident was probably one of a number which gradually led up to the breach between Ozanne and the two Howes.

⁸⁷ *Panola Star*, November 11, 1871.

When the campaign year of 1873 opened the harmony which had prevailed in Republican ranks since the organization of that party in the county, was finally brought to a close. Ozanne had held the office of sheriff for nearly four years, and as this was the most lucrative office in the county, the Howes desired to gain it for themselves. Consequently bitter feelings arose between these carpetbag leaders. W. W. Howe and Ozanne were both playing for the Republican nomination for that office, and in the end Howe gained the victory. Ozanne then made overtures to the Democratic executive committee to join forces with them against the Howes and their followers; and a Fusion ticket resulted, upon which Ozanne was placed as the nominee for sheriff. Captain Taylor was nominated for the State senate, and N. R. Sledge for county treasurer; and the remainder of the ticket was made up of men in both factions. A vigorous campaign was waged and the Fusion ticket was elected. It was in this campaign that the white people began to assert themselves and to assume the offensive. The Federal troops had been withdrawn, and the whites began to throw off the yoke of oppression. The effect of military domination was like keeping a cork under water, and as soon as Federal bayonets were withdrawn the whites arose from their forced submersion.⁸⁸

THE JUDICIARY.

During the first three or four years after the close of the war there was much uncertainty as to the respective powers of the civil and military governments in the county. From the time of the surrender the county courts were generally in running order with Judge Orville Harrison as county probate judge; but at times the military authorities assumed control. In August, 1865, a negro woman formerly owned by J. M. Kyle left her home to go to Batesville, and on her way thither killed one of her children and hid it in a brush heap, claiming that she had so many that she could not get work to do. She was lodged in the jail at Panola for a few days and was then sent to Grenada by the military authorities for trial.⁸⁹

In October, 1865, Orville Harrison was reelected probate judge;

⁸⁸ Capt. C. B. Vance, and Judge J. B. Boothe.

⁸⁹ *Panola Star*, 1865.

James F. Trotter, an ex-member of the State supreme court, was elected circuit judge; and George E. Harris of DeSoto county, district attorney, defeating among others Capt R. H. Taylor, of Panola. In November, 1865, the first term of circuit court since the fall of 1860 was held in the county. As would naturally be expected, there was a great deal of work to be done; both the civil and criminal dockets were very full, and there were several new questions to be determined, issues based upon the results of the war. The amount of lawlessness in the county was very great. For some time there had been much complaint of cotton stealing, and the country was naturally in a very demoralized condition as the result of the war and the freeing of the negroes. As proof of this we quote the following paragraph from the report of the grand jury at the November term of court in 1865.⁹⁰

"We regret the necessity of reporting that from the dire calamities that have befallen the country, or from some other cause there is an unusual amount of crime being committed in the county. . . . We further regret to report the lamentable fact that there is a vast amount of misdemeanor in the county not cognizable before this honorable court, such as the carrying of arms by free negroes, etc."

At this term of court the first trial of a freedman took place before Judge Trotter, upon an indictment for stealing cotton. The trial lasted a whole day, and, according to the reports at the time, was contested by council with all the zeal that could have been brought to bear if the defendant had been a white man. Witnesses both white and black were examined, and the case was argued at length on both sides. The jury found "Dick" guilty and the judge sentenced him to the penitentiary for three years.⁹¹

Judge Trotter made several important decisions in the course of the next succeeding year, among which was a decision that the slaves were not free until they were so declared by the constitutional convention on August 21, 1865. A negro, "Ab" Lester, was indicted for stealing cotton in March, 1865; but the court held that the defendant only violated the slave code then in force, and that he could not then be punished for larceny under the revised code, as this would be *ex post facto* in effect. In January, 1866, Judge Trotter declared

⁹⁰ *Panola Star*, 1865.

⁹¹ *Panola Star*, November 18, 1865.

the "stay law" unconstitutional, and this decision was a little later confirmed by the supreme court.⁹²

County court was held on the first Monday in each month, and according to law the probate judge sat as chief justice with two justices of the peace, chosen by all the justices of the peace in the county, as associate justices. The court elected its own prosecuting attorney. In this court, likewise, whites and freedmen were given the same rights before the law. By special act of the special session of the legislature in the fall of 1866 the county court law was so amended as to cause the county courts to be held once every three months, and the county attorney was to be thereafter chosen by the board of police instead of by the court. His term of office was to be two years.⁹³

Judge Trotter died in March, 1866, and was succeeded on the bench by Judge A. M. Clayton, who had also formerly been a member of the supreme court of the State. Chief in point of interest among the decisions handed down by him while he was circuit judge were an opinion holding that the suspension of the statute of limitation during the war was constitutional and valid, and an opinion declaring the legal tender notes of the United States authorized by Congress to be constitutional, claiming that they fell within the war powers of the government.

A little later, probably in 1868, Judge Clayton became chancellor of the district, and J. W. Vance of Hernando was made circuit judge. When the Republican party was fully established under the administration of Governor Alcorn, he appointed J. F. Simmons, of Sardis chancery judge and E. F. Fisher, of Batesville, circuit judge. These two men served in these respective capacities throughout the remainder of the reconstruction period. In 1869 Mark C. Brady, a young lawyer who had begun to practice about a year before and who about this time had become the Democratic nominee for the legislature, was appointed district attorney. He continued to serve throughout the Radical period, during which time he placed himself squarely in the front ranks of the Republican party and became a very aggressive leader. In the November term of court in 1869 negroes appeared on the juries for the first time and it later became the custom to have six negroes and six whites on each jury.⁹⁴

⁹² *Panola Star*, January 27, 1866.

⁹³ Code, 1857.

⁹⁴ *Panola Star*.

Chief among the judicial questions which rose in the county during this later period were the suits against Ozanne and the two Howes for money unlawfully withheld while sheriff and tax collector and county treasurer, respectively. It is not known precisely what the form of action was, but in July, 1876, six months after he had gone out of office, the board of supervisors appointed Capt. W. D. Heflin, J. E. Heath, and A. G. Spain as a committee on behalf of the board to inspect and check the books and accounts of Ozanne, and to report to that body whether or not his records were what they should be.⁹⁵ What their report was is not definitely known, but other records show that very soon afterwards the State secured judgment against Ozanne for \$2,000.⁹⁶

The suit against the Howes was much longer and more intricate. There were several delicate legal points involved in these proceedings and these matters were finally adjusted in the supreme court.⁹⁷ The two Howes were at different times treasurers of the county. The law allowed them 3 per cent commission on all receipts and disbursements of public monies, and in taking out their commission they took 3 per cent for receiving the money and 3 per cent more for paying out the money, making in all 6 per cent. The board of supervisors were largely composed of negroes and carpetbaggers, and in checking up the treasurer's accounts they sanctioned this system of double commissions. In 1873 N. R. Sledge was elected county treasurer on the Fusion ticket and went into office in January, 1874. A few months later in making his report as treasurer, these discrepancies in the Howe accounts were made known, and the board not being satisfied with the correctness of the accounts referred the matter to county attorneys Cooper and Hall.⁹⁸ This was in July, 1874. On November 17, the board again took up the matter and on the following day rendered a decision to the effect that the treasurer's accounts had been passed upon by the former board and that this should be conclusive. For this reason they refused to reopen the case. T. M. Sims, one of the members of the board from beat four, thereupon entered his protest against the ruling of the majority. In January, 1876, a new Democratic

⁹⁵ Minutes of the board of supervisors, July 7, 1876.

⁹⁶ Records of the circuit court, 1876-1877.

⁹⁷ 57 Mississippi, *Howe v. State*.

⁹⁸ Minutes of the board of supervisors.

board of supervisors went into office, and in the early part of that year N. R. Sledge brought suit against A. R. and W. W. Howe upon their official bonds for the money unlawfully withheld by them, and in July the board adopted the suit as that of the county.⁹⁹ As the result of this action the court records show judgments aggregating \$7,974.02 were entered against the two Howes and their bondsmen. The supreme court refused to reverse the decision of the lower court, holding that the double commissions were illegal and that an action thus brought was proper to recover the amount misappropriated.

CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION METHODS.

Throughout the reconstruction period the Democrats retained some form of political unity. Although there was no possible chance for Democratic success in the campaigns of 1869, 1870, 1871 and 1872 the party put out a ticket at each of these elections. As has been said, the whites did not nominate candidates for the constitutional convention in the autumn of 1867. But in the early spring of 1868 a meeting was held at Panola for the purpose of organizing a "central Democratic association," and the following resolutions of organization were adopted:

"WHEREAS, the people of the State of Mississippi, irrespective of past political differences, are rallying to the rescue of our rights under the constitution so much imperiled by the action of the Radical party in the Congress of the nation, by the passage and attempted enforcement of the Reconstruction measures, and by the miscalled constitutional convention now in session at Jackson; and

"WHEREAS, the people of the State of Mississippi have organized opposition to the Radical party in the state, under the name and banner of the Democratic party; and

"WHEREAS, a thorough organization is recommended in each county of the State by the general convention of the party lately assembled in Jackson; and

"WHEREAS, we heartily indorse the suggestion that the good and true men of Panola county, as in other counties in the state, should organize a Central Democratic Association subordinate to the general organization of the State, but responsive to the ends, principles, and policies of the party; therefore,

"RESOLVED, that we hereby organize ourselves into an association to be known as the Central Democratic Association of Panola county.

"RESOLVED, that the association be presided over by a president, elected for that purpose; and that two vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer be chosen, who shall discharge the duties usually enjoined upon such officers.

"RESOLVED, that an executive committee of nine also be selected, whose duties shall be the same as those usually devolving upon such officers."

⁹⁹ Minutes of the board of supervisors.

The officers chosen were: President, Col. Calvin Miller; vice-presidents, Hugh Crozier and J. C. Armstrong; secretary, J. M. Hogshhead; treasurer, J. C. Harrison; executive committee, M. N. Phillips, chairman, F. B. Irby, J. C. Brahan, G. G. Nelson, W. P. Wooten, Isaac Sullivan, Orville Harrison, and J. J. Meek. The Association was to meet subject to the call of the president and the secretary.¹⁰⁰ In May, 1869, after the removal of all civil officers by Governor Ames, at a mass meeting held at Panola an executive committee composed of both whites and negroes was appointed to devise and perfect an effectual party organization in the county.¹⁰¹ Thereafter for the next four years there were only nominal Democratic organizations in the county; for, although the whites were constantly at work to rid themselves of the carpetbag regime, it was not until 1873 that they could make their efforts effective. From the time of the opening of the political campaign of that year until the overthrow of the Radicals two years later there was a systematic, well organized Democratic executive committee in the county, which had general supervision over the Democratic forces. The men of whom this committee was generally composed during the latter periods were R. H. Taylor, C. B. Vance, John C. Kyle, J. B. Booth, James G. Hall, G. G. Nelson, R. M. Kyle, J. L. Fletcher, John Fowler, D. B. Arnold, J. H. Caldwell, Sink Pollard, Dr. Beanland, Dr. Carothers, N. R. Sledge, Col. Ed McGehee, Col. John R. Dickens, and Jerry Burnett. The usual place of meeting of the committee was at Sardis, and it was there that the plans were made for the memorable campaign of 1875.¹⁰²

The Republican party was well organized under the leadership of the carpetbaggers from time of the election of delegates to the constitutional convention in the autumn of 1867. This party was placed in complete control of the county government in 1869. A well organized executive committee directed its affairs, the office of president was usually filled by A. R. or W. W. Howe, and the committee consisted during the earlier period principally of the two Howes, Ozanne, J. H. Pierce, C. A. Yancey (colored) until his death in 1870, J. H. Piles, Lewis Bert (colored), Joseph Boyles (colored). During the later period of reconstruction it consisted principally of

¹⁰⁰ *Panola Star*, 1868.

¹⁰¹ *Panola Star*, 1868.

¹⁰² Personal letter from Judge J. B. Boothe to the author.

the two Howes, Ozanne, Scot Martin (colored), John Brown (colored), and some other less important negroes. The two Howes and Ozanne were the leading spirits in the party. In the earlier years, before the Democrats began to assert themselves, the negroes numerically in the majority and under the organization of the loyal leagues were accustomed to form in solid phalanx in front of the polls, so that no white influence could reach them save their carpetbag masters. As a result a solid negro vote was cast for the Radical ticket. In order to accomplish this they were tutored and drilled in the nocturnal meetings of the loyal league and in the political assemblies of the party. Led on by the Howes, Ozanne, Settle, and Piles, they were wont to assemble at Panola and other points, where they were harangued for hours at a time by these leaders.

During political campaigns, especially in the period from 1873 to 1875, barbecues and picnics were very common. Negroes would assemble at these meetings in numbers at times extending into the thousands. The leading Republican orators in the county and district would consume the day in praising the Republican administration, both state and national, and in denouncing in slanderous terms the policy of the Democratic party. Chief among the speakers on such occasions were the two negroes Scot Martin and James Brown, than whom two more evil-minded persons never existed. So repulsive did the conduct of the former become to the whites that during the memorable campaign of 1875 a body of white Democrats, north of the river, called on him and informed him that if he ever got up to make another speech north of the river they would kill him. From that time until the election Martin confined his efforts to that part of his race south of the river.¹⁰³ After the Democrats had gained the upper hand in the county, their leaders would assemble at the negro picnics and other meetings and force the negro speakers to share time with them. Efforts of this kind would at times almost precipitate a conflict, but the whites moved bravely forward and with firmness forced the seething mass of negroes to give way and make room for the Democratic speakers.¹⁰⁴

To arouse the white people to a full sense of their duty as well as

¹⁰³ Dr. A. A. Young.

¹⁰⁴ Capt. C. B. Vance.

to intimidate the negroes, great torchlight processions were organized all over the county. Large number of white men on horses were accustomed to form in line, at times aggregating more than a thousand. These processions would march over all parts of the county in the night, each man carrying a lighted torch. In this way the terrified negroes were brought to recognize the mighty strength of the whites. On one occasion, while feeling was at white heat, a procession of whites under the leadership of Capt. C. B. Vance was crossing over the levee and iron bridge leading from old Panola north when they met a column of negroes, fully two thousand strong, marching in close ranks over the levee, each one armed with a Winchester or a shotgun. Either the whites or negroes would be forced to give the right of way. It was at the time of the bloody encounters between the negroes and the whites in other counties in the State, and there was grave danger of a racial outbreak. But after a brief parley, at a time when it looked like bloodshed would be inevitable, the white forces held their ground and forced the column of negroes to pass down from the levee and make way for their superiors.¹⁰⁶

The excitement existing throughout the county during the campaign of 1875 has never been equalled at any other time in the history of the county. The Republicans throughout the State as well as those in the county had worked assiduously, to unite the two wings of their party, and by June of that year they had accomplished their purpose. A meeting was held at Panola in which fourteen of each faction were to unite in adopting such resolutions as they thought best for the promotion of harmony between them. Allen Fields, a negro preacher, presided. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that they pledged themselves to support no man who would not publicly announce himself as a Republican and as an advocate of an equal division of offices among negroes and whites. Pledges were given on both sides to support the regular nominees of the Republican party whosoever they might be. A further resolution was adopted to the effect that at least half of the offices of trust and profit must be held by "good Republican negroes." Provision was made for the organization of at least four political clubs in each supervisors district "for the purpose of harmonizing and concentrating the voters of such district."

¹⁰⁶ Capt. C. B. Vance.

Then it was that Ozanne made the fatal mistake of his life in deserting the whites and again joining hands with the negroes and carpet-baggers. In a campaign of fire the whites swept the Radicals out of existence as a political factor in the county. The way in which this was done and the incidents connected with it form a most interesting chapter. The following from the pen of ex-Judge J. B. Booth, one of the leaders, is so well written that it needs no alteration:

"In August, 1875, an organization was perfected in the county, which soon spread all over the State, to free the State from the rule of the negro and carpet-bagger, cost what it would. It is not generally known, but quite true that the tidal wave of opposition and revulsion to negro and carpetbag rule which swept over the State and culminated in the November election of 1875, which routed these robbers from power and place and restored the rule of native whites, was started in Panola county in August of that year. To accomplish this purpose old line Whigs and Democrats were united, ante-bellum prejudices were laid aside, and all opponent of the outrages, horrors, and corrupt rule foisted upon us in the name of Reconstruction were known as Democrats.

"There were in the ranks of opposition some native radical Mississippians, but they like reputed visits of angels, 'Were few and far between.' And it would be difficult to portray in language how cordially they were detested, despised and ostracised. On one occasion a silver tongued orator of Mississippi, in the shade of a beautiful grove in Sardis, said to acres of people, that the Irish orator and patriot Emmett once declared that the meanest of all mean things was an Anti-Irish Irishman; but if he were now living here he would say, that the meanest of all things is a native radical Mississippian. Such men were everywhere known as 'scalawags.' Another speaker, after paying his respects to the carpetbagger in expressive adjectives and double superlatives, and finding how trite they were when applied to the subject, paused for a moment and then said, 'When the devil comes to make up his jewels and has gone far and wide over this broad earth, and throughout its mountains, plains, and valleys and under the sea, and raked together into one black damning mass all that is impure, corrupt, vile, vicious, and loathsome, he will place upon its summit a carpetbagger, and inscribe in letters of fire upon its forehead, 'This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased.' These examples will serve to show the warm sentiment that prevailed toward these two classes of negro leaders.

"For weeks before the election the contest was waged in the utmost ardor by the white men of Panola. Farmers, merchants, clerks, lawyers, doctors, preachers, and all other classes not embraced above, all vied with each other in working for the common cause, and every one was as earnest, zealous, and untiring as though the result of the election depended upon his individual efforts.

"A great deal of money was expended by individuals in carrying on the campaign, and over \$5,000 was paid by the citizens of the executive committee for campaign purposes. Most of this sum was expended by the writer as secretary and treasurer of the executive committee, and not a dollar so far as he knows or is informed was ever spent for a corrupt purpose. Our purpose was to overawe the negroes and exhibit to them the ocular proof of our power and to present it to them in the most spectacular way, in the towns, by magnificent torch light processions at night and in the day by special trains of cars on the railroad through the county and back and sometimes through several counties, loaded down with white people with flags flying, drums beating, and bands playing, the trains being chartered and free for everybody.

"Intelligent negro speakers were employed from a distance to go among the

negroes and make speeches in their clubs, when permitted to do so, and to talk to them privately as to their folly in arraying themselves against the white people to whom they went for every favor, and everything they wanted, except advice as to how they should vote. Some home negroes were also employed for the same purpose; and while the writer does not think that the negro speakers accomplished any tangible results at the time, he believes the good seed sown brought forth fruit later.

"The negroes generally were members of the Loyal League, and also were organized into clubs. Detectives were engaged to ascertain the conduct and movements of the negroes, and to deter them as much as possible from holding club meetings and from organizing other clubs; and some of these detectives found that it was well to take advantage of the well-known superstitious instinct of the negro. On one occasion a perfectly fearless and efficient man went to a negro schoolhouse before the club met at night, and got upon the roof and removed a board so that he could better see and hear what would transpire below. The club met in due time and after some consultation it was agreed that it was advisable to change their place of meeting, and the time and place of the next meeting was finally announced by the presiding officer. The man on the house then said in a hoarse, sepulchral, and unearthly voice 'And I'll be thar.' When that was said the entire club rushed out as though the devil himself were after them, and it is needless to say that there was no other meeting of that club held anywhere during the campaign, and that the club itself was disbanded.

"A great many amusing incidents might be given; but the campaign was sometimes menaced by very serious danger of conflict between the whites and negroes. Large cavalcades of negroes and whites would sometimes meet in the towns or on the public highways, and it required the utmost patience and conservative counsel on the part of the leading whites to prevent race conflicts. The writer has on several occasions witnessed some scenes which came very near culminating in race conflicts, and when the firing of one shot would have caused the death of many whites, and needless to say a great many more negroes.

"The Democrats of the county, consisting principally of whites, were organized into clubs at convenient places all over the county and these clubs reported regularly through their secretaries, presidents, and other officers to the secretary of the executive committee at Sardis; and by these frequent communications prompt and uniform action was secured for any spectacular display desired or for any other important purpose. Everybody did so well during the campaign that it is almost an invidious distinction to name any as leaders. Yet there were leaders.

"Capt. Robert H. Taylor was the recognized leader in the county, and was a member of the State senate, and in a speech in the courthouse in Sardis the night before the election to a large crowd of whites and negroes, he announced, that we are going to win, but if by some mishap the opposition ticket were elected 'By the eternal they should not hold the offices.' It was unnecessary to carry out his threat because the opposition ticket was not elected the following day. Capt. C. B. Vance, who succeeded Captain Taylor as State senator in the election of 1877, was the chairman of the Democratic executive committee in 1875, and was wise in counsel, prompt in action, quiet and unpretentious as a woman, but courageous as a lion. John C. Kyle, a young lawyer at Batesville, and a rising young statesman, did some valuable work, and afterwards succeeded C. B. Vance in the senate, was elected railroad commissioner in 1886, and afterwards served three terms in Congress. His father, Monroe Kyle, a sturdy farmer and Democrat of the old school, was one of the wisest counsellors of the executive committee. Among the other recognized leaders of sentiment and action were: John R. Dickens, Edward F. McGehee, John Fowler, John L. Knox, Dr. N. C. Knox, Dr. John Wright, E. S. Walton, J. A. Rainwater, N. R. Sledge, N. R. Sledge, Jr., Dr. C. K. Caruthers, S. Z. Williamson, W. D. Heflin, J. Floyd, James Lewers, Dr. W. Drane, W. W. Caldwell, T. F. Caldwell, G. W. Balentine, J. H. Rice, T. J. Hunter, Freeman Irby, Rhomas F. Wilson, T. L. Needham, and John C. Braham.

"J. G. Hall, afterwards chancellor; was leader of the ticket for the lower house; the other members being Capt. D. F. Floyd, a gallant ex-confederate soldier, and Guilford Vaughn, a Democratic negro, who was never anything else, and died a Democrat years afterwards. He was given this position not for his talent or influence, but as a reward for his unswerving fidelity to the white race. After one term of office as a member, he was an employee of the senate or house when in session, as long as he lived. Col. J. L. Fletcher, a favorite son of Panola, was on the ticket for sheriff. The whole ticket was elected, and one of the most imposing spectacles that the writer ever saw was the burial in effigy the day after the election of U. Ozanne, the carpetbag sheriff of the county. In the procession were twenty or thirty old white-headed men, over eighty years of age, and the funeral oration was delivered by an Albino negro named Elymas Maxwell."¹⁰⁶

Among the campaign orators who did most in an active way to secure success for the whole party were R. H. Taylor, John C. Kyle, and James G. Hall. These three stumped the county from the southern border to the Tate county line, and from the wilds of the Tallahatchie bottoms to the Lafayette line. In the southwestern part of the county, a few miles west of Courtland, an old tree is still standing under which John C. Kyle, then a young lawyer of twenty-four years, made his first political speech. Beginning there, he and his two associates made speeches, night and day, at political picnics and night meetings until the campaign closed, at times scarcely taking time to sleep. In speaking of the conduct of that campaign after a lapse or nearly forty years Mr. Kyle said, "We had no half-hearted participants in that work; those who helped us then were men!"

As the election drew near, in the fall of 1875, a company of white militia was secretly organized at Batesville commanded by an ex-Confederate army officer. These recruits met in the late hours of the night over the business' house of Perkins and Jones, spread bagging cotton on the floor, in order to keep down the noise of their footsteps, and were secretly drilled in the arts of warfare. This was continued several weeks, and on the night before the election they were marched in deathly silence through the streets of the sleeping town, to a box house in the edge of old Panola, which, although a dying town, was still the largest voting precinct in the county. In the second story of this building they were concealed to meet an emergency, should one arise on the morrow. In the following day they went down very quietly, one at a time in order to escape detection, and cast their

¹⁰⁶ Letter to author.

votes. The day wore on, and as the sun began to sink in the west, news came from various parts of the county that the negroes were voting with the whites. Very soon it was apparent that the Democrats were carrying the election. The crowds began to get wild and boisterous. There was a great deal of drinking, and in the course of time considerable apprehension arose lest there should be an outbreak. Ozanne's life was in danger, and in order to protect him from bodily harm, the captain of the company stationed in the box-house nearby placed him under the protection of the white militia. "Never did signs of relief appear more plainly," says one who was present, "then on Ozanne's face when he was placed under the protection of the company of armed militia."

The entire Democratic ticket was elected. James L. Fletcher, who was sheriff at the time of the surrender, was after eleven eventful years reelected to that office. Felix Eldridge and M. G. Littlejohn, two Democratic negroes, were elected circuit and chancery clerks, respectively; N. R. Sledge was reelected county treasurer and James G. Hall, D. F. Floyd and Guilford Vaughn (colored) were elected to the lower house of the legislature. A Democratic board of supervisors went into office, on which were some of the strongest men in the county.

The following poem recited by Judge Hall in his campaign speeches as appropriately applicable to Ozanne, is a fitting token of the repute in which that worthy was held by the whites of the county in the year of his declining glory.

CARPETBAGGER'S LAMENT.

"I've traveled this country all over,
And now to another must go,
Where the negroes are easier swindled
And less of my lying do know.

"I come from the cold, frosty regions,
The land of the ice and the snow,
I came with my carpetbag empty,
But now 'tis quite full, as you know.

"At home I was ragged and dirty,
And left when the sun had got low,
But soon got a rise in this country,
When I got in the Freedman's Bureau.

"I told how I shouldered my musket,
And fought for the poor old negro,
How I hated the secesh and rebels,
And told them to hate 'em also.

"I swore them at night by dark lanterns,
In the League we call Loyal, you know,
And made them believe if they left it,
Straight down to the Devil they'd go.

"I promised that land we would give them,
Of acres quite forty or more,
With a mule fat and ready to tend it.
That caught the fool negro, be sure.

"I promised to give them all office,
And make them my equals also;
I made them think that I was an angel,
And this earth would be heaven below.

"We got every office we wanted,
And threw the poor darkies a bone.
We robbed and we stole without fearing,
For Grant, he would let us alone.

"That 'mournful fact' speech of old Greeley,
Struck us the first heavy blow.
Now the niggers, confound 'em, want office,
Then, where shall we carpetbaggers go?

"I see that more trouble is coming,
The mule and the land I can't show,
So like many a swindler before me,
I must pack my belongings and go.¹⁰⁷

After the success of the Demoratic party the carpetbaggers gave up hope, and within a few years all of them had left the county. Ozanne moved to Memphis, and subsequently to New Mexico, where he died near the opening of the present century. The Howes, after having been forced into litigation in the courts in regard to their commissions as county treasurers, and after having experienced some financial reverses, finally sold their plantation west of Como and returned to Massachusetts. The negro Piles also went back to the North, and Settle went to Memphis, where he is now (1912) practicing law.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ *Panola Star*.

¹⁰⁸ Capt. C. B. Vance.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The question of disposing of the freedmen was the greatest question confronting the people of the South when the war closed. Naturally much of the work done by the constitutional convention, held late in the summer of 1865, and by the new legislature, which met in October of that year, related to the freedmen. These legislative enactments composed what was known as the "Black Code." However by midsummer 1865 the "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Land" had become established in the county, and through orders issued by the general officers at Grenada and Vicksburg the institution became one of the ruling factors in the conduct and the relationship of the two races. Some of these early orders were very timely and helpful. In the early part of July the commander of the bureau at Vicksburg issued a proclamation urging the negroes to renew their contracts and continue with their former masters; and stating that they would not be allowed to congregate about the towns and military headquarters. Planters were urged to treat the negroes with every degree of justice, and to promote good feeling between the races. These orders were mild and considerate of the feeling of the whites toward those who had only recently been their slaves.¹⁰⁹

In spite of these efforts to properly regulate the relations between the freedmen and the whites, there was considerable excitement during the autumn months. The negroes were accustomed to congregate in large numbers around old Panola and Batesville; and to a smaller extent around Sardis and Como; and there was much apprehension as to the possibility of obtaining labor for the ensuing year. The negroes showed no disposition to make arrangements for the coming year; a large number of them were still under the delusion that the lands and property of the whites were to be confiscated and turned over to them. Migrating strangers passed through the county, selling for a small price "deeds" to "forty acres and a mule," and stakes with which to mark off the land. These were painted in gaudy colors and were surmounted by a small flag. As Christmas time drew near (1865) there was great apprehension lest there should be an uprising among the freedmen. The thoughtful citizens of the county urged

¹⁰⁹ *Panola Star*, July, 1865.

their friends to refrain from their usual Christmas festivities, to be extremely temperate, and to give no opportunity for the negroes to become offended at anything. The fear in regard to a negro uprising grew in intensity as the holidays drew near.¹¹⁰

However, the old year passed without any disturbance, and early in January most of the negroes secured homes and made contracts for the ensuing year. In the early part of that year the county probate judge, Orville Harrison, in accordance with the provisions of the "Black Code," apprenticed about 350 orphan children of freedmen. During the next two years some complaints were made, from time to time, against white planters for discharging freedmen without cause, and without paying them for their past services. But these complaints were prompted in most cases by ulterior and hostile motives, and there was little ground upon which to base them. At the close of the year 1866 the freedmen with few exceptions made contracts and secured houses for the succeeding year.¹¹¹ From the time the negro was initiated into politics, in the latter part of the year 1867, until his overthrow in 1875 his time was divided between working, attending political gatherings, and doing nothing at all.

DEMORALIZATION UNDER CARPETBAG RULE.

From newspaper editorials and other sources we conclude that there was much lawlessness in the county during the years immediately following the war. The editor of the *Panola Star* and the white people in general tried to keep down and to discredit reports of crime. This was done to prevent the passage and enforcement of more stringent measures against the South. During the years 1871-1873 especially there was a vast amount of lawlessness. Many brutal acts were committed by armed masked men in the night time, who claimed to be members of the Ku Klux Klan. One of the most exciting incidents in the history of the county grew out of such conditions. In the spring of 1870 a bold, daring, reckless fellow, living in the eastern part of the county in beat four, by the name of Murdock shot and killed a negro, by the name of Caldwell, for testifying against him to the effect that he was connected with Ku Klux outrages. Murdock

¹¹⁰ *Panola Star*, December, 1865.

¹¹¹ *Panola Star*.

then fled from the county, and remained away for several months, but finally returned. Ozanne, who was sheriff at that time, had made several attempts to arrest him, but had never succeeded. One day, in the early spring of 1871, a message was brought to Ozanne at Panola that Murdock was at Batesville; whereupon Ozanne secured three deputies and started to Batesville, one mile away, to arrest him. He sent one deputy by the name of Robert Jarvis around the town to station himself on the road leading east, in order to prevent Murdock from escaping that way. Then Ozanne and the other two deputies rode into Batesville. Murdock was drinking in a saloon, and just as Ozanne and his men rode upon the square from the west he started to mount his horse in front of the saloon on the east side of the square. Ozanne and his deputies approached and opened fire on Murdock; whereupon the latter rode away for a short distance and then returned the fire. A sharp battle ensued with the result that Ozanne and his deputies fled across the square, and Murdock went out of town along the eastern road toward home. He rode up Eureka street about three hundred yards, when his horse stumbled and fell, and Jarvis, who had stationed himself nearby, ran up and virtually assassinated him. He was taken to a nearby house, and after an examination the doctors said that there was no hope for him, and that he would die within a few hours. About eleven o'clock that night, Ozanne and his men, expecting Murdock to die before morning, went back to Panola. When they had left town Murdock's friends took him from the house, placed him upon a handcar, and carried him to Courtland and thence into the hills in the eastern part of the county. As a result of this incident feeling rose to a white heat. The whites did not condone Murdock's killing of the negro, Caldwell, but they were outraged at the treatment Murdock had received at the hands of Ozanne and his assistant officers. Ozanne published an exaggerated version of the affair in the Radical newspaper, and the whites immediately gave the lie to him through their newspaper. For weeks feeling remained at the highest tension, and time alone served to alleviate the situation.¹¹²

Many other homicides were perpetrated, from time to time, and a spirit of lawlessness was prevalent throughout the county. During

¹¹² Murdock recovered and removed to Arkansas, where he died several years later.

the months of December, 1870 and January, 1871, there were five homicides in the county, and during the eight months ending March, 1871, there were nine homicides committed. During the last seven months of the year 1872 no less than ten homicides occurred and throughout this period many daring outrages were committed by armed men in the night time under the guise of the Ku Klux Klan. Social turmoil and strife, verging at times on a war between the races, left their demoralizing effects, and it was not until the whites regained control in 1875 that order was restored.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

For two months after the surrender there were no church services in the county, and for several months after that there was no preaching, except by circuit riders whose visits were indefinite and uncertain. One church at Panola was burned by raiders during the war. Within a short time after the freeing of the slaves, negro churches began to be constructed. In 1866 one was built between Batesville and Panola, and according to reliable authority the money was largely raised by means of subscriptions among the whites.¹¹³ About the same time the planters and landowners gave active assistance to the negroes in building churches in other parts of the county. From these facts it is inferred that before the interference of the Republicans and carpetbaggers, the white people took an active interest in the religious condition of the negroes. Soon after the seat of justice was moved to Sardis in 1871 the old courthouse was converted into a public hall for negro meetings of a political nature, and for religious services and revivals. So far as is known no animosity was shown by the whites toward the independent religious aspirations of the colored race in Panola county.

Only four denominations were represented in the county—Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Cumberland Presbyterian, and in 1870 the valuation of all church property was \$42,850.¹¹⁴ Among the leading preachers during the period were: J. J. Meek, H. Z. Crozier, D. G. Deak, C. B. Young, Dr. W. Mitchell, F. S. Petway, Robert Maclin, W. S. Spevis, and Mr. Sage.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ *Panola Star*.

¹¹⁴ Federal Census, 1870.

¹¹⁵ *Panola Star*.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Agriculture.

The war left its devastating effects upon Panola county, as upon the entire South. The drain upon the population to fill the Confederate armies and the taking of heads of the families from home, some for four long years and others for a shorter period, but worst of all, a large number never to return at all,—these circumstances caused the economic condition of the county to fall to a low plane. But still worse was the economic revolution caused by the freeing of the slaves. Masters who had left a home of ease and plenty, a plantation well tilled and well stocked with slaves in 1861, returned after four long years of suffering and disappointment to find their homes and plantations in decay, fences torn down, orchards in ruin, and fields only partially tilled.

Such was the condition of affairs after the surrender in the spring of 1865. Added to these evils was the fact that the negroes were freed, and consequently beyond the control of the Southern whites. By nature unreliable, irresponsible, and lazy, they were easily deluded by wild rumors of what the Federal government was going to do for them; and being even under more favorable circumstances averse to any kind of systematic labor, they now exhibited all the qualities and attributes calculated to demoralize economic conditions in the county. The effects of a lack of system and of intelligent supervision in agricultural pursuits was plainly apparent. Although the population had increased fifty percent between the year 1860 and 1870, the amount of land in cultivation in 1870 was the same as it had been a decade before. Still more appalling is the fact that the cotton produce for the ten years had fallen off 35 per cent. The amount of corn produced in 1870 was 14,000 bushels less than that in 1860, and even in 1880 the amount produced was a thousand bushels less than in 1860. The enormous falling off in orchard and garden products, the decrease in the number of hogs, sheep, and milch cows, and the general decay in home industry bespeak even more plainly the low status of the period.¹¹⁶ To sum up, the prosperity and order of ante-bellum days in the county lies in bold contrast to the paralyzed state of society

¹¹⁶ See Appendix, Table V.

and the industrial decay, which followed in the wake of a four years civil war, coupled with the evils of a carpetbag and negro regime.

Size of Farms.

The plantations and farms before the war varied widely in size. The federal census of 1860 records only one farm of more than one thousand acres, but we may safely consider this a glaring error. There were no mighty slave empires in the county with their thousands of acres of land and hundreds of well trained slaves, and ruled and controlled by its slave king, yet there were a goodly number of wealthy, prosperous slave owners in the county. Probably the largest number of these in any one district lived in the country around what is now Como. However there were several extensive land and slave owners at and around old Belmont, and there were others scattered over other parts of the county. Many of the large plantations were dismembered after the war, probably because their owners were unable under the paralyzed conditions of the time to keep them up. It was not until 1880 that a number of large plantations in the county were noted in the federal census.

Manufacturing in the County.

The county has never been a manufacturing center. Before the war the number of manufacturing establishments was comparatively small, there being only twelve in 1860. Of these two were blacksmiths, one an establishment for the manufacture of carriages, three for flour and meal, and six for sawing lumber. The total amount of capital invested was \$33,800. These establishments were evidently only for the purpose of supplying the immediate needs of the county. The total value of products in 1860, was \$105,507, the cost of raw material being \$33,550 and the cost of labor \$26,988; and there was comparatively little change in the amount of manufacturing done in the county between the years 1860 and 1880. In 1870 the number of establishments was much larger than in 1860; but this increase in number was evidently for the convenience of the people, and not for the purpose of enlarging to a very great extent the manufacturing industry, since the amount of capital invested and the total value of products re-

mained about the same as they had been a decade before. In the census report of 1870 the number of establishments was thirty-nine, the amount of capital invested \$31,950, the cost of material \$74,762, the number of employees 118, the annual cost of labor \$22,907, and the value of products for the year 1869 was \$129,969. In 1880 there were thirty-one establishments representing \$49,590 of invested capital, paying annual wages to the amount of \$12,405, and turning out products to the value of \$83,517. Eleven of these thirty-nine establishments were operated by steam engines and two by water wheels. Practically all of them were operated for lumbering purposes, grain mills, blacksmiths, or repair shops.¹¹⁷

Labor Conditions.

As has been said, there was considerable apprehension toward the close of the year 1865, in regard to negro labor for the ensuing year, but after the holidays the freedmen with few exceptions secured homes and went to work. During that year, however, the work of the freedmen was not at all what it should have been. There were complaints from time to time of the unreliable conduct of the laborers, and in turn there were some complaints of masters discharging them without sufficient cause. When the time came for them to make arrangements for the succeeding year, most of those who had worked for wages wanted to contract as share-workers for the new year, and those who had worked on shares wanted to work for money wages. This was due of course to "Sambo's" natural propensity for wanting a change. The labor conditions during the year 1867 were not at all satisfactory, and as a result the planters of the county suffered greatly; and during the latter weeks of that year there was much discussion as to what change should be made. In the early part of January, 1868, a mass meeting was held at Panola, the object of which was to form some plan for labor for the coming year; but nothing definite was done. However, the consensus of opinion was that money wages should be paid by monthly contracts, and that each planter should employ no more negroes than he could closely superintend.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ See Appendix, Table VIII.

¹¹⁸ *Panola Star*.

The encouragement of immigration was early begun by the leading planters after the war. In the fall of 1866 and the early weeks of 1867 a large number of laborers was brought into the county from the states of South Carolina and Georgia; but not enough to supply the demand. In January, 1870, the Panola Immigration Society was organized, and an agent was appointed to go to Chicago to obtain immigrants. Dr. Sam Martin was the man selected, and he remained in that city for several weeks; and through his efforts thirty-five laborers arrived on February 20, and several others followed later. An immigration society of similar character was organized at Sardis about the same time with seventy leading citizens as members. But these efforts to introduce foreign labor from the North and elsewhere did not prove satisfactory, and a great many of those who came into the county soon returned whence they came.¹¹⁹

Taxation.

When the war closed the financial affairs of the county were necessarily in a very unsettled condition. At the May meeting of the board of police the tax collector was authorized to receive in payment of taxes the treasury note of the State, cotton money, county treasurer warrants of every description, notes of any solvent banks or banks of a different state, and gold and silver coin.¹²⁰ There was a large number of indigent families and orphans to be provided for, and this necessarily caused a drain upon the treasury. In January, 1865, there were 1,026 members of indigent families of Confederate soldiers in the county, and this number was increased during the early months of that year. The legislature in the autumn of 1865 authorized each county to levy a tax of one dollar on each freedman for the purpose of a freedmen's pauper fund. In December 1865 the board of police levied a tax on cotton of one dollar per bale to be used for county purposes; and in August 1866 the special cotton tax of three cents per pound by the Federal government became effective. It was at this time that the burdens of the debtor class became heaviest, and more than one mass meeting was held in the county to petition the governor to call a special session of the legislature in order to relieve

¹¹⁹ *Panola Star*.

¹²⁰ Minutes of board of police.

the situation. For the first three years after the surrender the affairs of the county were conducted on an economical basis; but when the new regime came in 1869 financial expenditures began to increase. In that year the total amount of taxes collected for state purposes was \$27,000; in 1871 it was \$32,000; and in 1872 it was \$55,000. It is a notable fact that \$9,000 more was collected in the county for taxes in 1870 than in 1880, although the population in 1880 had increased 40 per cent, and the rate of taxation in 1870 was only about half what it was in 1872. In 1870, the time at which the carpetbag regime was firmly established in the county, the total amount of taxes collected was \$58,192; in 1872 it was \$97,201.75; and in 1880, when the county had been thoroughly reorganized under Democratic rule, the total amount was \$49,041.

To the extraordinary expense placed upon the people of the county by the removal of the seat of Justice to Sardis in 1871, is to be attributed some of the increase in taxation. The original contract for the building of the courthouse called for \$43,473; but what was actually expended on it no one knows. Current opinion among those who were familiar with events of the time estimate it at \$80,000 to \$100,000. The contract was originally made with Andrew Johnson, a prosperous contractor who had only recently come into the county; and according to his statement he lost \$13,000 on the contract, and in the end the building had to be completed by another. He says that he received warrants for his work, which were worth only about sixty cents on the dollar, and that Ozanne and the Howes promised to make good the difference, but did not fulfil their promise. He further states that Ozanne received several thousand dollars worth of the bonds, with the understanding that he was to hold the money in payment for them subject to call, and that he never paid for the bonds, but drew interest on them for several years. The records show that Ozanne, the Howes, and others of their clan took \$15,000 worth of the first bonds issued, and that they drew interest on them from October 1, 1872, although the purchase money was not actually paid in until the latter part of March, 1873.¹²¹ On September 18, 1873, W. W. Howe, president of the board, was ordered to place upon the market and sell at the best terms possible courthouse bonds to

¹²¹ Minutes of board of supervisors.

the value of \$10,000, to bear interest from October 1, 1872; and in June, 1874, when the board was in very urgent need of money for the final payment on the courthouse, Ozanne made a loan of \$6,000 with a proviso that the bonds should be back-dated one year.

In July, 1870, there was due by insolvent taxpayers of the county to the State \$4,386.71; in 1871 the amount of insolvent and delinquent taxes for the State was \$4,172.61; in 1872 the amount was \$3,111.61; most of which was poll tax; in 1873 the amount was in all \$6,196.22, of which \$2,169 was for poll tax; in 1875 the amount was in all \$5,885.87. In each of these years the figures given represent the state tax alone, and the amount in each case is that amount left unpaid for the preceding year.¹²²

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.

At the close of the war there was no well organized common school system in Panola county. However, there was a pretty good common school system for educating the white children of the county before the war, and when the war closed that system was still in force. But little attention was paid to negro education until the members of that race along with their carpetbag friends provided for it later. Here and there the whites would teach a negro to read a little and to write a little; but for the first three or four years after the surrender only white education was considered; freedmen were little concerned with this subject.

The general plan of the school law in effect in the county just after the war was that embodied in the school bill passed by the legislature and approved by Governor McRae in December, 1859. This was a special bill and applied to the five counties Tishomingo, Tippah, Lafayette, Marshall, and Panola. It required the tax assessor to make an enrollment of the children between six and eighteen years every four years. The general supervision of public education was intrusted to a board of school commissioners, who were to appoint five trustees for each township, who in turn were to serve two years and whose duty it was to examine teachers and look after the school interests of their respective districts. The county treasurer was to

¹²² Minutes of board of supervisors.

keep a separate account of the school funds; and teachers were to be paid according to the number of pupils, but not more than seven and one-half cents per day for each pupil.¹²³ This was the general law in force in the county until it was abrogated by the carpetbag legislature.

The financial support of this early system came from special funds, one of the most important of which was the Chickasaw school fund. Besides this there were other investments made with money obtained from bequests, gifts, and other sources, the interest on which was to be applied to common school purposes. After the war a considerable amount of this school money was invested in Mississippi and Tennessee railroad bonds and other corporation stocks; and on account of the demoralization at the time the interest on the Chickasaw fund and the interest on some of the other funds and bonds was allowed to accumulate during the war, and consequently there was on hand at the close of the struggle a considerable amount of money for school purposes, and there is evidence to show that the interest on the Chickasaw fund due the county for the several years preceding was not paid over until after the passage of the education bill in 1870.

In May 1866 the character of the school funds was as follows, and from it one may get a fair idea of the origin of the financial support of the common school system before and immediately after the war:

Amount of notes against Miss. & Tenn. R. R. bearing interest at 10 per cent.....	\$21,951.21
Interest on the same.....	13,385.00
Amount of notes against individuals.....	9,871.00
Interest on same.....	5,639.00
Amount due by the county.....	3,564.00
Interest on same.....	2,348.00
Mississippi and Confederate Treasury Notes.....	5,766.00
Six semi-annual installments of interest due from the state (Chickasaw fund).....	13,000.00

Deducting the amounts which were worthless, such as the Mississippi State and the Confederate States notes the State debt there was on hand in good securities \$58,845.93. At this time there was in the county in addition a sum of \$1,500 to be applied especially to the education of the indigent children of whom there were about three hundred of school age.¹²⁴

¹²³ *Panola Star*.

¹²⁴ *Panola Star*.

As is generally known, the carpetbag government in the State established a new educational system on a parity with those of Northern States. The common school system, much as we have it now, was then brought into general use. The office of state superintendent of public education was established about 1870, and was early brought into disgrace by being occupied by the Radical negro, Cordozo, who was finally impeached, but allowed to resign by the Democratic legislature in the early weeks of 1876. At the time of the establishment of this office the office of county superintendent was also established and Governor Powers appointed H. J. Harding to fill it. Harding served for about four years, and was succeeded by H. H. Mitchell in 1875. Even before the Congressional readmission of Mississippi the carpetbaggers and negroes had taken active steps toward expending public money on the education of negro children. The minutes of the board of police in August, 1869, of which W. W. Howe was president, contains the record of a motion which was passed requesting the president of the board to correspond with Major-General Ames asking his permission for the board to order an extra enumeration of the school children in the county, "for the purpose of including colored children that are entitled to the benefits of the school fund." Howe did as requested and forthwith obtained Ames' permission and an endorsement of the plan submitted. The enumeration was ordered, but in February, 1870, the board indefinitely postponed the matter as the state was about to be readmitted, and the newly elected administration would enact laws providing for the general disposition of the school funds among the whites and negroes.

In the new constitution under which the state re-entered the union ample provision was made for the distribution of the school fund among the two races. Thereafter the amount of the fund was evidently very large, since the bond required of the county treasurer as custodian of the school funds was much larger than the one required as custodian of the general county funds. The general provisions of the common school law were embraced in the education bill signed by Governor Alcorn in July, 1870.

The census report of 1870 shows that there were about six hundred whites in the county above the age of twenty-one, who could not read or write. Of course, the negro population was largely illiterate; and as a consequence, most of the negroes who held office during the re-

construction period could neither read nor write. In 1870 there were 607 white children attending school in the county and 55 negroes. This was at the beginning of the carpetbag rule, however, and thereafter the attendance of negro children multiplied very rapidly.

The efforts of the Radical party to secure to the black race their share of educational opportunities were thoroughly successful. The new constitution and the legislative enactment of the summer of 1870 immediately placed the negro on an equal basis with the whites in this respect; and an examination of the reports of the superintendent of education will show how pronounced were the results. During the first year of the new system negro attendance at school increased from fifty-five to 750,¹²⁵ and in 1872 the total enrollment of colored children was 1,884, only five less than the white enrollment. The average attendance was 1,440 for the negroes and 1,439 for the whites.

In accordance with the provisions of the new law, numerous schools were established all over the county, and large amounts of money were expended for school purposes. In 1871 there were seventeen schools erected for whites and eleven for negroes, and there were at the end of the year forty-nine school buildings in all. The amount of money expended this year for building and repair was \$14,900; the amount paid out for teachers' salaries \$11,805.54. This was an average salary of \$70 a month to each teacher. The total expenditure for school purposes for the year ending January 1, 1872, was \$33,264.14. In 1874 the number of public schools had increased to eighty-six, while there were thirty-two private schools in the county. However, most of these private schools were mere extensions of terms after the public schools had expired, and did not represent separate schools. In 1872 the total special school tax was \$15,000, the total number of educatable children, 9,153. In 1873 there were forty-three colored teachers in the county, "a large portion of whom" were natives of the county who "by close application had fitted themselves for teachers of the lower grades," and "nearly all of whom," the county superintendent tells us, "spent a portion of the year at school." A clear idea of the educational conditions at the time and the immediate effect of the new system may be obtained by reading a few remarks of the county superintendent in one of his reports:

¹²⁵ Federal census and reports of State superintendent of education.

"The school directors of this county held their first meeting December 5, 1870. Immediate steps were taken to carry out the provisions of the present school law, but owing to the lateness of the season and the fact that a large proportion of the pupils were the children of the laboring classes, and must attend school, if at all, during the winter months, it was deemed best to erect no school buildings for the first term but to use such as could be procured. From January 3rd to March 1st forty-nine schools were established and commenced, nearly all of which were continued for a term of four months. The success of this first term of public schools, while not all that could be desired, was on the whole encouraging. After the close of the term the board turned its attention to providing school buildings for such neighborhoods as had none, and during the past summer and fall twenty-eight have been erected, and several that had been donated to the board have been repaired. . . . The board has experienced considerable inconvenience procuring efficient teachers for some of the schools, particularly colored ones; but we trust this evil will be remedied in time."¹²⁶

Thus it appears that large sums of money were expended each year by the carpetbag government for educational purposes. Every effort was made to place educational advantages in the way of the negroes, and these efforts were extraordinarily successful. There were some white teachers introduced into the county to teach negro schools; just how many and the places at which they taught are not known. There were no cases of violence, so far as the writer has been able to learn, shown by the whites toward negro schools.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

Among the sources of county history for the reconstruction period foremost of all in importance is the *Panola Star*, a newspaper published throughout the period at old Panola and Sardis. The paper was established in June, 1856, and was then published at old Panola, the county seat. Its founder was Maj. M. S. Ward, a Virginian by birth, who came to Panola county in the late forties and was prominently identified with the county history from that time until his death in 1867. He served throughout the war in the army of the Confederacy, being commander of a battery, and took an active part in the military actions around Vicksburg. During all this time, however, up to 1864, he continued as editor of the *Star*, depending upon his assistants to conduct the paper during his absence. During the year 1864 and the first part of the year 1865 the *Star* did not appear. In an introductory paragraph to the fifteenth volume, begun in 1871, the editor thus comments on this period in the history of the paper:

¹²⁶ Report of county superintendent of education, 1871.

"The *Star* had set, and for two years (1864 and the first part of 1865) we find no history of the past. The vicissitudes of war had compelled the publication to be discontinued." But the paper again appeared July 1, 1865, and continued its uninterrupted course until after the reconstruction period.

After the war it changed hands several times, in 1866 Major Ward, the founder, sold an interest to J. M. Hogshead and E. J. Walsh, and that partnership was continued until Major Ward's death. The surviving partners carried on the business until April, 1870, and then J. A. Polk and Freeman Randolph became associated with Walsh. In the fall of that year Walsh and Polk retired and Freeman Randolph became sole editor. About the beginning of the year 1875, Capt. C. B. Vance bought the paper and edited it throughout the stirring period just preceding the disruption of the carpetbag regime.

Much credit is due the editors of this paper for the work which they did in their efforts to relieve the county from the ruinous domination of the Republican party. The editors were always sane in their views, but at the same time were unfaltering in their denunciation of carpetbag extravagance and misrule. The paper opposed secession in 1861, but when that had become an accomplished fact, it devoted its columns wholly to the defense of the South and Southern principles. In 1865 it advocated a conservative course in dealing with the negro and in reorganizing the government, and constantly urged upon the whites the importance of treating the former with consideration and kindness. Although the Conservative party principles and platforms were not at all times exactly in accord with the opinion of the editors of the paper, when they had once been announced the paper put aside its own views, and strongly advocated those adopted by the Conservative conventions. In the local question of moving the county seat from Panola to Sardis, or rather in the contest which followed the passage of the law removing the seat of justice, in which efforts were made to have the act repealed, although feeling on both sides ran exceedingly high, the *Star* maintained a strict neutrality. As the general policy of the paper was conservative and politic, it was able to accomplish much more than it could have otherwise accomplished.

In addition to the light which it throws on county affairs this paper is a valuable source for the study of State and national history. It

contains among many other important documents the veto messages of President Johnson, the proclamations of Governor Sharkey and of the president relative to the reorganization of the government just after the surrender, the general orders relative to the work and power of the freedmen's bureau, the military proclamations of Generals Ord, Gillem, and Ames, and their subordinates; campaign letters and official proclamations of Governor Alcorn, proclamations of the State Democratic executive committees during the earlier period, and many other historical proclamations and documents of like character. It also contains many representative editorials and clippings from national newspapers of the day.

Other important sources for the history of the time are the official records—the minutes of the boards of police and of the boards of supervisors, which are preserved in good legible form for the entire period; the reports of the superintendents of public education, published in the journals of the state legislatures for the years 1871–1876; the circuit and chancery court records; and the State auditor's reports; and the Federal census reports for the years 1860, 1870, and 1880.

Lastly, for original information the writer has resorted to interviews with old citizens who were prominently identified with or otherwise familiar with the events of the time. Among those consulted Capt. C. B. Vance and ex-Judge J. B. Boothe have probably given more valuable information than have any others. The former was closely connected with party politics through the whole period, and had a good recollection of the events of the time. The latter has been of much assistance in preparing an account of the campaign of 1875, having been by reason of his position as treasurer of the Democratic campaign committee in a position to know the detailed events of that year. Among other individuals to whom the writer of this work is indebted for their assistance are J. B. Mitchell of Sardis, Andrew Johnson of Sardis, who was contractor for the building of the courthouse at that place in 1873, Dr. A. A. Young of Oxford, who was a practicing physician at Como in Panola county from 1870 until long after the close of the reconstruction period; Senator A. S. Kyle of Batesville, who was a mere boy of eleven years of age when the war closed; Capt. L. F. Rainwater of Sardis; and Hon. John C. Kyle of Sardis.

APPENDIX.—CENSUS STATISTICS OF PANOLA COUNTY, 1860-1880.

TABLE I. OWNERS OF SLAVES AND NUMBER OWNED IN 1860.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 70	70 and under 100	100 and under 200	200 and under 1000	Total Slave- holders	Total Slaves
76	54	44	46	23	35	34	24	22	80	47	70	29	20	13	8	4	.....	629	8,557

TABLE II. POPULATION STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

	WHITE			COLORED			Total Population	TOTAL 21 AND UPWARD	
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Total White	Free	Slaves	Total		Male	Female
1860.....	5,172	65	5,237	.....	8,557	8,557	13,794	.....	.....
1870.....	7,977	190	8,167	12,585	.....	12,585	20,754	4,514	4,479
1880.....	9,405	116	9,521	18,831	.....	18,831	28,352	5,949	.....

TABLE III. NATIVITY OF POPULATION, 1870-1880.

	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France	Sweden and Norway	Switzerland	Denmark	Italy	Africa	Total Foreign	Mississippi	Alabama	South Carolina	Virginia and West Virginia	Tennessee	Georgia	North Carolina	Louisiana	Kentucky	Arkansas	Total Native
1870	16	19	27	16	27	2	28	2	31	1	4	183	13,540	1,053	1,121	905	1,855	1,111	.....	.....	.....	.....	20,564
1880	1	13	36	6	25	3	6	11	..	..	..	116	20,562	1,498	1,343	949	1,275	988	1,063	51	170	108	28,236

TABLE IV. POPULATION OF MINOR CIVIL DISTRICTS, 1870-1880.

Beats	1870			1880
	Total	White	Colored	Total
Beat 1.....	3,717	1,088	2,629	7,367
Como, town.....				149
Beat 2.....	4,468	1,575	2,893	3,627
Longtown.....				100
Beat 3.....	2,714	1,270	1,444	4,177
Courtland.....				221
Pope's.....				181
Beat 4.....	3,628	1,958	1,670	5,171
Beat 5.....	6,227	2,277	3,950	8,010
Batesville.....	227	150	77	442
Panola.....	192	108	84	986

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

IMPROVED, IN FARMS					UNIMPROVED, IN FARMS					FARM PRODUCTS										
Number of Farms	Acres	Value, including Land, Fences and Buildings	Value of Implements and Machinery	Cost of Fertilizers	Total Acres		Woodland and Forest, Acres	All other Acres	Acres in Cotton	Bales of Cotton	Acres in Corn	Bushels of Corn	Acres in Oats	Bushels of Oats	Bushels of Rice	Bushels of Rye	Bushels of Wheat	Bushels of Sweet Potatoes	Bushels of Irish Potatoes	Bushels of Beans and Peas
1,672	102,986	\$3,682,361	\$198,410	.....	216,625	.....	.....	.....	.....	24,311	.....	533,340	.....	2,797	220	2,052	23,350	57,520	12,854	53,810
2,637	103,567	3,030,587	83,486	.....	152,568	152,568	14,351	.....	.....	15,764	.....	390,767	.....	4,900	63	380	30,408	58,395	36,531	240
2,284	152,115	2,653,681	132,688	\$2,296	178,200	159,824	18,376	67,060	30,055	43,091	521,193	2,119	22,016	1,000	268	9,351	45,399	7,556	14,892	

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS—CONTINUED.

LIVE STOCK AND ITS PRODUCTIONS												MISCELLANEOUS						
	Horses	Asses and Mules	Milch Cows	Working Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of Live Stock	Wool, Pounds of	Butter, Pounds of	Animals Slaughtered, Value of	Hay, Tons of	Value of Orchard Products	Value of Market Garden Products	Beeswax, Pounds of	Honey, Pounds of	Manufactures, Home-made, Value of	
1860.....	2,151	2,304	4,051	1,734	9,605	6,621	29,606	\$889,004	14,058	132,465	186,991	.....	\$5,680	\$5,774	675	15,432	6,813
1870.....	2,147	2,361	3,085	760	5,377	2,952	17,385	724,079	4,058	15,230	87,828	14	67	.....	140	987	4,616
1880.....	2,575	3,758	6,662	1,065	8,566	2,826	22,351	7,246	7,246	170,587	.....	103	11,212	434	720	7,797	.....

• Spring Clip of 1880. † Made on Farms in 1879.

TABLE VI. NUMBER, SIZE AND TENURE OF FARMS, 1860-1880.

Size of Farms	TENURE IN 1880			
	1860	1870	1880	
				Rented for Share of Crops Rented for Fixed Money Rent Cultivated by Owner
Under 3 acres.....	.....	.....	3	.....
3 and under 10 acres.....	51	21	21	10
10 and under 20 acres.....	99	206	211	82
20 and under 50 acres.....	576	1,089	770	325
50 and under 100 acres.....	507	592	496	93
100 and under 500 acres.....	407	177	664	60
500 and under 1000 acres.....	31	1	83	2
1000 acres and over.....	1	1	36	2
Total.....	1,672	2,037	2,284	574
				657
				1,053

TABLE VII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

	Number of Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Materials	HANDS		Cost of Labor	Value of Products
				Male	Female		
1860.....	12	\$33,800	\$33,550	49	3	\$26,988	\$105,507
1870.....	39	31,950	14,762	118	1	\$22,907	129,969
1880.....	31	49,590	51,320	70	.....	12,405	83,517

Note. These statistics embrace the entire manufacturing and mechanical productions of the country, including neighborhood industries.

TABLE VIII. SELECTED MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

	Kind of Establishments	Number	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	NUMBER OF HANDS EMPLOYED			Annual Cost of Labor	Annual Value of Products
					Male	Female	Total		
1860	Blacksmithing.....	2	\$2,400	\$1,030	6	.....	6	\$1,560	\$3,075
	Carriages.....	1	4,000	2,775	6	.....	6	2,880	10,000
	Flour and Meal.....	3	7,000	4,350	3	.....	3	756	6,050
	Lumber, sawed.....	6	20,400	25,395	34	3	37	21,792	86,382
	Total.....	12	\$33,800	\$33,550	49	3	52	\$26,988	\$105,507
1870*.....	Lumber, sawed.....	7	\$10,200	\$20,100	41	.....	41	\$14,650	\$46,800
1880†.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*All industries with a gross annual production of less than \$10,000, all neighborhood industries and saw mills producing less than \$2,500 annually are omitted.

†All countries having a gross production less than \$100,000 annually, all neighborhood industries and all other industries, producing less than \$20,000 annually were omitted in 1880.

RECONSTRUCTION IN SCOTT COUNTY.

BY FORREST COOPER.¹

I. INTRODUCTION.

Scott county is a part of that territory ceded by the Choctaw Indian to the federal government by the treaty of Dancing Rabbit in their third and last cession (1830). The county, along with fifteen others, was organized about three years after this cession. It was named in honor of Abram M. Scott, then governor of the State.²

The act of the legislature creating the county defined its borders as follows: Beginning four townships, or 24 miles, north of the Choctaw base line and four townships east of the Choctaw Doak's Stand line; thence northward 24 miles, westward 24 miles, southward 24 miles and thence eastward to the starting point. It will be noted that the county was originally square, and contained 576 square miles. There was, however, a strip on the east side of the Doak's Stand boundary line which had not been granted to any county. Four years after its creation Scott county was enlarged by the addition of all that portion of territory east of Pearl river and the old Choctaw

¹ This contribution is the result of seminary work in the University of Mississippi in the session of 1911-12.

F. G. Cooper was born April 8, 1892, at Monticello, Lawrence county, Mississippi. He is of Scotch-Welsh descent on his father's side and Scotch-Irish on his mother's side. His great-grandfather, James Cooper, in the early part of the nineteenth century removed from North Carolina to Lawrence county, Mississippi. James Cooper's son, R. C. Cooper, was born in 1845 in Scott county. R. C. Cooper's son, A. W. Cooper, father of the subject of this sketch, was born in Scott county on December 9, 1865. F. G. Cooper's great-grandfather on his mother's side was born in Lawrence county, Mississippi, as were his son, J. H. Burkett, and granddaughter, Flora Burkett, mother of F. G. Cooper.

² Governor Abram M. Scott was a native of South Carolina. He had been a member of Claiborne's expedition against the Creeks at Holy Ground in 1813. In the constitutional convention of 1817 he represented Wilkinson county and served two terms as lieutenant-governor immediately preceding his election to the governor's office, in the latter part of 1831. *Riley's School History of Mississippi*, 157.

boundary line, describing the dividing line between the Indian and white settlements prior to the Dancing Rabbit treaty of 1830 from the point where the same boundary line crosses Pearl river to the point where the same intersects the western boundary line of the county. This additional territory contained only 8 square miles, making a total of 584 square miles, or 373,760 acres in the county. With this exception the boundary lines of Scott county have not been changed since its creation. This county is about the size of an average county in Mississippi. It is situated in the south central part of the State, about half way between Jackson and Meridian. It is now in the fifth congressional, the eighth circuit court, and the thirteenth senatorial districts. The county is bounded by Newton on the east, Smith on south, Rankin on the west and Leake on the north with a very small portion touching Madison on the northwest.

Scott county is one of the so-called hill counties, not because it is extremely hilly, but to distinguish it from the delta counties. It is in the Jackson prairie belt, consisting for the most part of rolling, black, upland, prairie soil. This kind of soil covers at least one-fifth of the county in one section. In other parts of the county there are spots of from 5 to 150 acres of this prairie soil, intermixed with the sandy, loamy soil. The prairie soil is from 2 to 3 feet deep with a subsoil of tough, yellow, waxy clay. This prairie land is a part of that region of small prairies, known as the Jackson Prairie region, which varies from 10 to 30 miles wide. There are several varieties of soil in the county, as shown by the following description taken from Dr. E. N. Lowe's *Soils of Mississippi*:

"The black or shell prairie' soil is a heavy, clayey soil of dark, grey color, looking black when wet, rising upon a lighter gray subsoil which passes at a few feet depth into the highly calcareous shell marls of the Jackson formation. Other parts have a brownish grey, clay soil known locally as the 'hog wallow' and is well developed in parts of Scott county. On the Gypsum prairies—those of grey soils, of Scott county—the tree growth is stunted and consists of scattered Spanish, post oak, black jack, red oak, hickory, elm, sweet gum and black gum. Considerable areas around Morton and the intervening black soils to and around Lake ought to grow alfalfa successfully. The prairie clovers and melilotus thrive on this soil."

The southern boundary of the prairie section consists of a range of hills which forms a miniature watershed, and the rivers and streams of the county run north and south from this range of hills. In the northern part, the Tuscalameta, Tallabogue, Shockaloo, Hontokalo and the Tallahala flow northwest into Pearl river, which forms a

small part of the northern boundary of the county. Leaf and Strong rivers have their source in the southern part of the county and flow south.

No navigable streams flow near the county, except Pearl river, and it is navigable only a part of the year. Consequently the people have been forced to travel for the most part on rough dirt roads. In fact, this was the only means of transportation until the Vicksburg and Meridian railroad was built through the county in 1860. At one time this railroad had its terminus on the eastern border of Scott county near Lake, where it remained until long after the war of secession. The most important road in the county before the war was the stage line, running from points in Alabama through Hillsboro and Morton, to Vicksburg. Most of the citizens bought their supplies in Vicksburg and hauled them over this road. There were also lines leading from Hillsboro to DeKalb, Canton, Raleigh and other nearby towns. These roads were not worked by any system, and were for the most part simply cleared lines in the woods.

In the act creating the county a place called Berryville, 4 miles southwest of Forest, near the present Grey plantation, was made the county seat. Streets were laid out and settlers began to move into the town, but in 1835, before the public buildings were constructed, the county seat was changed to Hillsboro, which was nearer the center of the county. There it remained for thirty years. Today Berryville is an extinct town, no trace of it being found anywhere. Two other towns in the county were established later, but abandoned, and no trace of them is left today. Both of these were near Morton.³

Hillsboro, the new county seat, remained the political and social center of the county until the close of the war. For years after the organization of the county, Hillsboro was the only community of any importance. It has never been a large town. By the census of 1910 it had a population of only 150. But during reconstruction days it was much larger and was one of the Republican strongholds.

Forest succeeded Hillsboro as the county seat before the end of the reconstruction period and from that time has been the most important town in the county. In point of numbers, in political, social,

³ See Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V, 368.

and economic supremacy, it is the most important community and exceeds all other towns in the county. It is now a thriving little place of 1,200 inhabitants, and is the principal market town for the people of Scott, northern Smith and southern Leake. In reconstruction days it was the scene of unfortunate courthouse troubles, and rivaled Hillsboro as a place of local political importance. It was the center of the Ku Klux Klan, the loyal league and the freedmen's bureau of the county.

The other towns of political importance during reconstruction years were Ludlow, Homewood, Harpersville, Lake, and Morton. All of these are thriving towns. The farm of Jonathan Tarbell, near the McIlhenny plantation, was also a center for the Republicans of that neighborhood, being near Hillsboro.⁴

The population of the county has never been very large. According to the first census taken after its organization there were only about two hundred white families with an average of two slaves to the family. During the next ten years the population, both free and slave, almost trebled. The ten years immediately preceding the war saw the population more than double. From 1860 to 1870 the total population decreased more than four per cent, in spite of a rapidly increasing negro population. Nearly every beat recorded a decided decrease in the white population from 1860 to 1870, some almost 200 per cent. Beats four and five had a very slight increase. During the next ten years the population, both white and black, grew steadily.⁵

Of the total population five years after the war about 65 per cent were born in Mississippi, and about 16 per cent came from Alabama. Of the remainder of the population Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee furnished the major portion in the order named. There were only thirty foreigners in the county in 1869. They came from France, Ireland, England, Germany and Scotland.⁶

From 1870 to 1880 the inflow of population from other states greatly decreased. In 1880 the native population was 80 per cent of the whole, as compared with less than 30 per cent before the war. There was also a smaller proportion of the population from each of the neighbor-

⁴ R. C. Cooper.

⁵ See Appendix, Tables II and III.

⁶ See Appendix, Table IV.

ing states. The foreign population was practically the same as it had been ten years before.⁷

The citizens of Scott county are on an average with those of other counties in the State. Although few of her sons have been prominent in State and national affairs, the large number of her honest, patriotic sons is most creditable to the county. Among those most prominent are: Congressmen, Otho R. Singleton, Joseph H. Beeman, and R. W. Roberts; also Hon. Green B. Huddleston, Chancellor T. B. Graham, Col. A. Y. Harper, and Messrs. M. D. Graham and S. H. Kirkland.

Among the pioneer families may be mentioned: White, Parker, Finley, Hasty, Waterman, Collins, James, Carter, Russell, Redwine, Livingston, Mangum, Bennett, McMillan, Owens, Smith, Schirens, Robinson, Phelps, Denson, Chambers, Blackwell, Cameron, Myers, Downs, Ricks, Scharborough, Davis, Jack, Miller, Thomas, Patterson, McLaurin, Gatewood, McKay, Berry, Lea, Obeys, Eastland, Bullard and Huff.⁸

Ten years before the war the ratio of whites to slaves was about two to one in favor of the whites. Beat one had 50 slaves and 132 whites. In 1860 the slaves made a total of 40 per cent of the population. At that time there was not a beat in the county with a majority of slaves. Beat two was about equally divided between the races. After the slaves were freed many of them began to move to Sherman Hill in beat two along the southeast border of the county, and in 1870 the ratio of freedmen to whites was about two to one in favor of the freedmen. Beat one, in which the two chief towns, Hillsboro and Forest were located, was about equally divided with a few more whites than negroes. But some negroes always went to the county seat to vote, thus making that beat a black one. In the southern part of the county the white population diminished and the negro population doubled from 1860 to 1870. Beat three, during the same time, more than doubled in population, both negro and white.⁹

From the organization of the county to the present time, farming has been the principal occupation of its people. The census reports of 1860, 1870 and 1880 show that the following farm products were

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ This list was secured from the "Deed and Will Book, A" for 1835, 1836, 1837 and from W. T. Roberson and R. C. Cooper.

⁹ See Appendix, Table III.

raised in the county: live-stock, wheat, corn, tobacco, beeswax, honey, rye, cotton, wool, Irish and sweet potatoes, butter, molasses, oats, rice, peas, beans, barley, sorghum and fruits. Many of these were produced only in small quantities. In 1912 some of these products—such as wheat, rye, tobacco and barley—are almost unknown local farm products.¹⁰

At the beginning of the war only about 12 per cent of the 373,760 acres in the county was improved. The proportion remained practically stationary during the next ten years, only about 250 acres being cleared and improved in excess of that part which had grown up in small trees again.¹¹

In 1860 there were five sawmills in the county, employing 31 hands, and five years after the war their number had grown to 24, employing 58 hands and producing \$74,550 worth of lumber. But these mills were mostly run in connection with the farms. On the whole the occupations of this period did not differ materially from those of the people of the county today (1912).¹²

When the summons came for men to enter the Confederate army none were more loyal than were those of Scott county. The first company to be organized was the Morton Pine Knots, mustered at Morton on May 5, 1861, with Thomas F. Pettus, captain. Less than a week later came the Forest Guards, with Hon. T. B. Graham in command. Ten companies were organized in the county in all,¹³ and

¹⁰ See Appendix V.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² See Appendix, Table VIII.

¹³ The following list of companies furnished by Scott county is taken from Rowland's "Military History of Mississippi" published in the *Official and Statistical Register of Mississippi* for 1908:

Company E, Lake Rebels, mustered August 24, 1861; fifth battalion, captain, William L. Towne, resigned 1862; first lieutenant, B. M. Milton; second lieutenant, G. W. Smith; third lieutenant, J. C. Curry.

Company K, East Mississippi Greys, mustered at Forest, July 23, 1861, fifth battalion, infantry: captain, A. Y. Harper, elected lieutenant colonel, 1862; first lieutenants, J. B. Beeman, W. T. Hendon; second lieutenants, B. F. Bickman, D. G. Cooper; third lieutenants, Floyd Hardee, Marcus L. McDonald.

Company F, Twentieth Regiment, infantry, mustered in Scott county: captain, E. R. Stirling; lieutenant, S. P. Sedberry.

Company H, Morton Pine Knots, mustered at Morton, May 5, 1861: captain, Thomas F. Pettus; first lieutenant, Robt. W. Payne; second lieutenant, G. S. Pickel; third lieutenant, J. H. Barbee.

Company H, Forest Guards, mustered at Forest, May 11, 1861: Captain T. H. Graham, first lieutenant, J. S. B. Harris; second lieutenant, O. R. Eastland; third lieutenant, J. W. Sharp.

many scores of the citizens of the county enlisted with companies elsewhere. The most conspicuous officers furnished by the county were: Capt. Wm. L. Towne, Lieutenant-Colonel A. Y. Harper, Capt. E. R. Stirling, Capt. Thomas F. Pettus, Capt. T. B. Graham and Capts. T. J. Denson, John R. Owens, M. V. Collum, J. L. Harris, John Gaddis, J. M. Smith and J. M. Hall.

The approximate number of men who went to the war from the county is about 900. About 500 enlisted in the companies organized in the first year and perhaps 400 or 500 more joined the ranks during the three years that followed. This is a very large proportion of the population, since the total white population was little more than 5,000. The number of men from the county who were killed in the war can never be accurately estimated. Some idea of the loss may be gained from a comparison of the total white population of 1860 and 1870. Beat three had 1,400 at the beginning of the war and but 971 five years after its close. Every beat in the county lost in population except one. Although there had been five years of peace by 1870, and there had been a healthy increase in the colored population, the census of that year shows 12 per cent less population in the county than in 1860. This indicates the heavy loss in men caused by the war.¹⁴

Several times the Union armies passed through the county, and each time waste and destruction followed in their paths. In the latter part of April, 1863, General Grierson, acting under instructions from General Grant, reached Scott county on his raid through Mississippi.

Hillsboro Rebels, mustered February 24, 1862, at Hillsboro, Thirty-Sixth Regiment, Company F: captains, T. J. Denson, John R. Owen; first lieutenants, John R. Owen, A. T. Murrell; second lieutenants, W. J. Summers, A. J. Archer; third lieutenants, W. M. Archer, Pat Henry.

Company C, Thirty-Ninth Regiment, Johnson Avengers of Scott County, organized March 26, 1862: Captain M. V. Collum; first lieutenant J. H. Barbee; second lieutenant, S. J. Waite, third lieutenant W. M. Ludlow.

Company K, Second Regiment, cavalry, Mississippi Body Guards, mustered at Morton, March 25, 1862; captains, J. L. Harris, John Gaddis, T. J. Burkes; first lieutenants, John Gaddis, J. P. Harris; second lieutenants, T. J. Burkes, J. A. Tabb; third lieutenant, J. P. Harris, N. A. Welsh.

Company G, Twenty-Eighth Regiment (not sure in the county), cavalry; captain, J. M. Smith.

Company D, first battalion, Minute Men, Scott county Rebels, mustered July 5, 1862; captain, J. M. Hall; first lieutenant, H. O. Porter; second lieutenant, Joshua Spires; third lieutenants, W. H. Copeland, D. L. Walters.

¹⁴ W. T. Roberson, R. C. Cooper. See Appendix, Table II.

There were about 600 men with him when he passed through Lake in the eastern part of the county. They destroyed several barns, the railroad shops and depot of the Vicksburg and Meridian railroad, which had its terminus there during the war.¹⁵

It was nine months later that General Sherman passed through Scott county on his first raid from Vicksburg to Meridian. Although it was his general plan to follow the railroad, he passed through the county near Hillsboro. On his first raid his men seized all the provisions they could find along their route. The gin, hotel and tavern, and the public buildings at Hillsboro were destroyed. Mr. D. S. Holmes, of Lake, who was at the home of Rev. L. P. Murrell when General Sherman led his army back to Vicksburg, gives a vivid account of his observations. During the few days before the first raid, the news of Sherman's coming spread rapidly and this afforded opportunity for the people to hide a part of their corn and other produce. But on the second raid there was very little time to hide anything, because the people were taken by surprise. As a result much of the produce which had been hidden before the first raid was brought out and exposed to seizure in the second raid. At the home of Rev. L. P. Murrell two or three hundred bushels of corn were saved from the first raid, but were later returned to the crib. Every bushel of it was found by Sherman's army, but strange to say, the raiders used only so much of it as they needed. This was the exception, however, according to Sherman's own report.

A slight skirmish occurred between General Sherman's army and Gen. Stephen D. Lee's Cavalry near Morton in the western part of the county while Sherman was on his raid back to Vicksburg.¹⁶ These three raids were about the only conflict within the county during the war.¹⁷

During the war the county was at a standstill from every point of view. Nearly a thousand of her men and boys were at the front, and the few who remained at home were absorbed in making a living for the women, children and slaves. As there was no market available, most of the farm work was devoted to raising those products which

¹⁵ D. S. Holmes.

¹⁶ See General Lee's Article entitled "Sherman's Meridian Expedition from Vicksburg, to Meridian" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IV, 37-47.

¹⁷ *Forest Register*, May 27, 1867.

could be used at home. The small amount of cotton raised was used in making home-spun clothes for local use and to send to the soldiers at the front. Many are the tales of heroic devotion of the mothers and daughters, and of the absolute loyalty of the slaves. So far as the writer has been able to ascertain no slave in the county proved untrue to his master during the entire period of the war. This fact speaks loudly for the system of slavery as it existed in Scott county.

Schools were closed, public buildings were destroyed, mills, though few in number, were shut down or burned, railroad communication was cut off, and the railroad shops at Lake were burned. The work of the fourteen churches in the county was paralyzed. No advancement was made religiously, educationally, socially, economically or politically. In most cases, where property was not destroyed, it was allowed to go to waste, partly because of the scarcity of labor.

When the war closed, and the fathers and sons sadly returned to their homes, the county presented a desolate appearance. Three thousand slaves were freed; public buildings, mills, gins, taverns and railroad property were in ashes. Fields, which four years before were in a high state of cultivation, had now grown up in small trees. Fences were down, outhouses had decayed and fallen; there was very little live stock left by Generals Grierson and Sherman. It was too late to make a crop that year. Many heart-breaking scenes were enacted when loved ones met, surveyed the wrecks of their homes, and bravely planned to meet the difficulties ahead.

II. PARTIES AND PARTY LEADERS.

For the first few months after the close of the war little attention was paid to politics. The years 1865 and 1866 were mostly spent in devising means to make a living. Neither the Whigs nor the Democrats reorganized during the first few months. In fact, the Whig party was dead, and while some of the Old Line Whigs soon went to the newly organized Republican party, perhaps a majority joined the Democratic ranks. But in the first election, held on October 2, 1865, there was only one party. Those native whites, who were opposed to the Democrats, had not succeeded in organizing the Republican party, and the carpetbaggers were just beginning to arrive. In a short time, however, the right of suffrage was conferred upon the negro by Con-

gress and they began to hope for and demand political equality with their former masters.

The first registration after the war to include both races was authorized by the supplemental reconstruction act, passed July 19, 1867. At that time no person could be registered, who had ever held public office before the war and had then engaged in war against the United States. Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commander of the fourth military district, which included Mississippi, appointed the following registrars for Scott county: Judge Jonathan Tarbell, John G. Owen and A. C. Fiske. The first of these men was a Massachusetts carpetbagger, who had recently arrived. We shall learn more of him later. The second was a native white Republican, who was very active during the whole period. Little is known of A. C. Fiske, other than that he was a Republican. The following is a list of the registered voters of beat four: Johnson's, white 16, black 5; Ludlow, white 29, black 33; Burns, white 23, black 7; total, white 68, black 45. A detailed account of the registration over the entire county could not be obtained, but, as beat four was a white beat, the above figures give a general idea of the whole.¹⁸

None of the influential men in the county was permitted to register. As the registrars were either Republicans or under Republican influence, no Democrat was allowed to vote, if they could find any excuse to prevent it. As a consequence, many of the native white men who were entitled to register took little interest in politics. Be it said to the credit of some of the freedmen, many of them hesitated long before taking opposite political sides to their white conservative neighbors.

There were three political parties in Scott county during reconstruction. The Democratic party, which had held supreme political authority since the organization of the county in 1834, was composed of the men who had served in the Confederate army, of those who had voted the Democratic ticket before the war, of a few Old Line Whigs, and of a very few freedmen, who remained under the influence of the whites. Of course, the major portion of the Democratic strength was the native white element, who had always voted the regular Democratic ticket. Some of the other elements in the

¹⁸ *Forest Register*.

party are almost negligible, and it is next to impossible to ascertain the number or proportion of each. There were many more negroes voting the Democratic ticket in 1875 than in 1869.

The Republican party, which was unknown in the county before or during the war, suddenly sprang up after the war and assumed alarming proportions in a short time. Being a new party, its strength had to come, of course, either from the older parties or from the freedmen, who had but recently been granted suffrage rights. The latter constituted the major portion of the radical strength. They were led and controlled mainly by native whites, who had gone into the Republican party from the Democrats or from the Old Line Whigs. Added to these was a small but influential element which had come from the North at the close of the war, or were in the South with the federal armies at the time of the surrender and remained over to see what was in store for them. These are known as carpetbaggers. There were two classes of carpetbaggers. One came entirely for plunder and official position and the other for non-political pursuits. All of them, however, affiliated with the radical crowd. By reason of their connection with the civil and military authorities of the State, they were able to exert a wonderful amount of power in the county. Whenever appointments were to be made, it was usually men of this stripe who secured them. Perhaps the smallest source of Republican strength consisted of some of the Old Line Whigs, who, while holding to the best interests of the county, joined the Republican party because this was the only means available to show their opposition to the Conservatives. It was not their love of the Republicans so much as their hatred of the Democrats, that caused them to cast their lots with the new party. The backbone of the Republican party was the negro element, which was in a minority over the entire county, except in beat two, where the negroes had a large majority of the population.

The third political class, called the Independents, consisted mostly of candidates; for the movement amounted to very little in the estimation of the voters. There were a few, however, of the Old Line Whigs and dissatisfied Democrats who liked neither the new nor the old party. They were never able to assume much authority in the county and held few, if any, offices. Some of them withdrew from one or the other party in the hope that they might thereby get the dissatisfied vote of both parties and thus be elected.

Democrats.

One of the leading Democrats in the county, who did much to rid it of radicalism, was A. B. Smith, popularly known as "Dick" Smith. He was the first white child born in the county and he grew up as a prosperous farmer's son and became a farmer himself in his earlier manhood. In 1845 he had a contract to help move the Indians out of the State. Five years later he married Miss Lucy Tinnell, of Lexington, Kentucky, a beautiful young graduate of Centenary college, in that State. He carried his bride to Raleigh, in Smith county, where he lived for three years. He then removed to Hillsboro, where for about two years he was a very successful planter, owning from twelve to fifteen slaves. He gave up farming and began the practice of law, for which he was by nature well qualified.

He was living in Hillsboro when the State seceded and assisted Judge T. B. Graham in organizing the Forest Guards, which company was mustered on May 11, 1861. It was largely through his efforts that supplies were secured for the county during the war. He served as a private in the Twentieth Regiment.

In 1869 he moved to Forest and resumed the practice of law, achieving great success at the bar. For years he was the best criminal lawyer in Scott county. His services to the county consisted in developing schemes to lessen the influence of the negro and carpetbagger. His method of controlling the negro was by persuasion and friendly talks. On numerous occasions, when great numbers of negroes would meet to discuss politics, he would make speeches to the crowds and advise them to vote the Conservative ticket. In this way he controlled many negro votes. The precinct at Forest had really a majority of negroes, but the influence of A. B. Smith was used to keep them from registering and voting. He was a member of the local den of Ku Klux, which was organized at Forest. When the discussion on the location of the county seat was at its height he represented Forest in her claims before the military governor and the legislature. In spite of flattering solicitations he never offered for office during the reconstruction period.¹⁹

¹⁹ These facts were secured principally from Mrs. T. B. Graham and from the *Forest Register* of various dates.

No citizen of Scott county was more loved by its people than was Judge T. B. Graham. He was born in Sumpter county, Alabama. His father, dying when he was only two years old, left a family for him and his brothers to support. This was not a difficult task, since the family was wealthy in slaves and property. When a very young man, the subject of this sketch showed signs of that brilliancy which afterwards characterized his career. He graduated at the University of North Carolina with first honors in the literary class. He then studied law under some older practitioner and moved to Scott county soon afterwards, where he began the practice of his profession. Later he was graduated from a law school, and then returned to the county to resume his professional career. When the State seceded he organized the Forest Guards and was elected captain of the company, in which capacity he served throughout the war. After the war he again located in the county for the practice of law. In 1871 he was elected to the State senate, which office he held two terms. He also served in the lower house of the legislature. He was in the senate when Adelbert Ames was impeached. Governor Stone appointed him chancellor, and every governor for twenty years reappointed him. He died in 1896 while still chancellor of his district.

Judge Graham was elected grand wizard of the Forest den of Ku Klux when it was organized. He was a most useful man in this position, as he would never allow his associates to go to extremes. He was always on the side of peace and exerted a great influence to maintain white supremacy. Like his law partner, A. B. Smith, his weapon was persuasion. His wonderful influence over both races gave him the important position of mediator in many of the conflicts of those stormy days.²⁰

In 1842, at the age of eight, W. A. Gatewood, Jr., came with his father from Kentucky and settled in the southern part of the county. His father was a very successful planter, and at the outbreak of the war owned about 42 slaves and hundreds of acres of land. Both father and son were Whigs, and were opposed to secession, but at the outbreak of the war the son joined Company G, Twenty-eighth Mississippi Cavalry, which was organized at Hillsboro and placed under the com-

²⁰ These facts were obtained from Judge Graham's widow and from a large number of his former associates.

mand of General Van Dorn. After the war he settled on the old homestead.

In 1869 General Ames appointed Sam West, an illiterate negro preacher, to represent beat three on the board of supervisors. Although the beat had a majority of registered negro voters, Mr. Gatewood was elected over Ames' appointee by a majority of forty-two in the election of 1871. Eighteen of the negroes were under the domination of the whites and voted for Gatewood, thus causing the defeat of the candidate of their own race. Living in a beat with a majority of negroes, he did much to rid the county of negro and carpetbag rule. Many offices of trust and responsibility have been held by him.²¹

Another man who took an important part in the overthrow of radical rule was Green B. Huddleston, one of the most brilliant lawyers of central Mississippi during this period. Many were the schemes he devised to keep down the carpetbagger and negro in Scott county. Many times has he aroused the citizens to do their political duty. He made numerous speeches for the Democratic party. Although these invaluable services were rendered without any hope of reward, he was finally persuaded to run for representative in the later years of the reconstruction period and was elected by a good majority.

After reconstruction days were over he made a great reputation as a lawyer throughout the central part of the State. He died in 1910 at Philadelphia, Mississippi, greatly respected by his fellow citizens.²²

A very active citizen politically was Capt. David M. Womack. He was chairman of the county Democratic executive committee for a number of years and used this official position many times to the advantage of his political associates. Several of the Democratic majorities are directly traceable to his untiring efforts. He was a very successful merchant of Forest, where he lived the greater part of his life. He removed from the county a few years ago. During reconstruction Captain Womack never offered for any office outside of his own town, always preferring to assist his friends and work for the general interest of his party rather than to work for his own interest politically. Captain Womack died in 1909 and was buried at Forest, where his splendid life had been spent.²³

²¹ From H. H. Halbert and others.

²² From W. T. Roberson and others.

²³ Ibid.

Among the other Democrats who took a leading part in politics, either as candidates or as assistants to candidates, against the Radicals and who used their untiring efforts in overthrowing negro rule, were the following:

H. H. Halbert, a native Democrat who lived in beat two, where the negroes were concentrated. In 1871 he was a candidate for supervisor against Bob Chisolm, a freedman. Bob, it is said, secured a small majority of the votes in this race, but as luck would have it, the Democrats had friendly men as managers of the election and the negro was counted out. Mr. Halbert was a popular conservative leader in the southern part of the county.²⁴

Another Democratic leader in this part of the county was Calvin S. Jones, who helped his friends in every possible way. His influence over the negroes was used to secure their votes and when this failed other means were employed. After reconstruction he was a member of the board of supervisors for many years.²⁵

J. B. Blackwell came to Scott county from Smith county in 1870, was editor of the *Forest Register* for several months, represented Scott county in the State senate and was later elected chancery clerk. He afterwards moved to Vicksburg, where he began the practice of law. He was a greatly beloved Democrat with much influence in reconstruction. He died about 1898.²⁶

Dr. S. Davis, a native of Alabama, moved to the county before the war. After the war he edited the *Forest Register* for several months, was first defeated for supervisor of beat one by a Republican and was then elected to the same office.²⁷

C. W. Sigrest was one of the men who was elected assessor over a Republican. He was born in the county and lived during the reconstruction period at Hillsboro.²⁸

J. G. Crecelius, a Primitive Baptist minister, took a very active interest in politics. He was pastor of the church at Antioch, where he lived, and was elected representative for two terms.²⁹

²⁴ From W. A. Gatewood and the *Forest Register*.

²⁵ From W. A. Gatewood.

²⁶ From the *Forest Register* and W. T. Roberson.

²⁷ From the *Forest Register*.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ From W. T. Roberson.

John Briscoe was a faithful Democrat, who lived one mile west of Forest. He was a prosperous farmer and railroad man. Georgia was his native state; he moved to Texas and later to Scott county.³⁰

Oliver Eastland used his influence to keep down trouble at Forest, and is said to have been very successful.³¹

J. J. Crane was a loyal Conservative living at Forest, and took an active part in the overthrow of negro and carpetbag rule in the town.³²

W. M. Ledbetter, a prosperous farmer, was a leading Democrat. In 1871 he was president of the county Democratic convention. H. H. Moore was chairman of the next Democratic convention. John Gaddis was a strong Democrat living at Morton, who succeeded in defeating the Republican leader, John H. Owen, for representative in 1871.

A reconstruction history of Scott county would be incomplete without some reference to the work of D. S. Holmes and George Lowrey around Lake. The former came to the county as a teacher in 1860. He remained in the county during the war with the exception of about two weeks, when he went to Brandon to enlist in a company to go to the war. He was one of the two men in the county who voted against secession. After the war he took an active part in political affairs around Lake. In 1865 he refused to swear allegiance to the United States government and almost had serious trouble with the captain of the soldiers stationed at Lake. Mr. Lowrey was a wagon manufacturer at Lake and exerted powerful influence over the negroes in behalf of the Democrats. To these two men the overthrow of the carpetbag influence around Lake was largely due.³³

Another Democrat who exerted no little influence was R. C. Cooper, who lived in the southern part of the county. He was not a candidate for any office during reconstruction, but in later years represented his beat as supervisor. His efforts in reconstruction was mainly in behalf of friends and for the party as a whole.³⁴

Another leading Democrat of this period was W. T. Roberson, who lived in the southern part of the county, but whose influence was felt

³⁰ From the *Forest Register*.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ From D. S. Holmes and W. T. Roberson.

³⁴ From A. W. Cooper and W. T. Roberson.

in all parts of it. He was a young man at the time, and was in several elections made one of the managers of some of the precincts. It is recorded by several of the authorities on the reconstruction period in the county that many of the tricks played on the Radicals originated in the fertile brain of W. T. Roberson. In the later years he was very active in the Grange movement. At one time he was the official district lecturer for this organization. In all movements for the betterment of the county W. T. Roberson has been on the right side.

The last Democrat to be mentioned in this connection was T. T. M. Simmons, who did not come to the county until 1870. In 1873 he was elected constable and in 1875 was a successful candidate for sheriff against John R. Owen. In 1884 he was elected chancery clerk and served for eight years.³⁵

Republicans.

By far the most influential carpetbagger in the county was Judge Jonathan Tarbell. He was a man of extraordinary ability and it is claimed by some that he was honest in his convictions.³⁶ But in the light of proved facts the writer does not believe that he was. At least, his actions were sadly out of harmony with the best interests of the people of the county. In 1866 he left his home in Massachusetts and settled on a farm near Hillsboro. As he paid only \$3.40 taxes, it is presumed that he did not buy a farm and only rented the one to which he brought his family. Almost immediately he allied himself with the Republican party and was a most potent factor in its development not only in the county but in the State. He made friends with the negroes and easily won their confidence. When the loyal leagues were established over the State he organized the negroes of Scott county and became the first county president of the organization. He never offered for office in the county, but held the office of probate judge by appointment of the governor. He was always content to work his schemes through others.

Being well educated, an able lawyer, and having a strong personality, he was recognized over the entire State as one of the strongest carpetbaggers. There were few of them who were more cordially

³⁵ From R. T. M. Simmons, W. T. Roberson, and the *Forest Register*.

³⁶ From W. T. Roberson.

hated than was Judge Tarbell. The following quotation from the *Forest Register* of November 16, 1867, relating to Tarbell is a fair representation of the general feeling towards him:

"Even the soil of Scott county is polluted by the unhallowed feet of a political adventurer, one of Yankeedom's most favored sons, one of the sweet smelling negro loving tribe. Ah! the name of the precious individual breaks in upon the ear of the Loyal Leagues with concord of sweetest sounds."

In March of 1868 Tarbell addressed a Radical crowd in Jackson and told them that he was using his influence to overthrow the county and that he was doing this work secretly.³⁷ He slandered the people of the county unreasonably and proclaimed openly that his life was in danger and asked the officers to send troops to the county.

In a letter written in 1866 to some of his Northern friends and never intended for Southern eyes, he said, "Negro suffrage is a measure of the most stupendous wildness." When this letter was copied by the Southern newspapers from the Northern press Tarbell saw that it was injuring his influence over the negroes and repudiated the statement.³⁸

Judge Tarbell for two years at least did not own one foot of real estate in Mississippi, and his taxes including his poll amounted to only \$3.40. Later he purchased a plantation near Hillsboro, near the McIlhenny plantation and held it for several years.³⁹

In September, 1868, General Tarbell went to Washington and New York to raise money to be used for political purposes in Mississippi, especially to bring a supply of speakers to the State. What he said to his friends there in the way of slandering his neighbors will never be known.⁴⁰

In May, 1870, Governor Ames appointed Judge Tarbell to a place on the supreme bench of the State, where he served for many years. He was one of the first three justices to sit in this new tribunal, this court having succeeded the old court of appeals. In an October issue of the *Daily Clarion*, a strong Democratic journal published at Jackson the following attack was made on Tarbell:

"Imagine the disappointment which came to us when it was known that one of the selections for the Supreme Bench, the court of last resort in the State, was

³⁷ *Forest Register*, November, 1868.

³⁸ *Forest Register*, 1868.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Forest Register*, November, 1868.

Jonathan Tarbell, a mere adventurer, who was not known to the bar of Mississippi, and who was presumed to be at best a briefless pettifogger.

"The highest evidence he had given of any description of public capacity was to run a loyal league and to conduct a partisan maneuver on a small scale. His name has become an odor of intense offensiveness to the white citizens of the South by his slanderous imputations upon them in his testimony to the reconstruction committee, by means of which he endeavored to stimulate the sectional animosity of the Republican Congressmen to the point of complying with the application of the defeated carpetbaggers to put upon the people of the State as their permanent organic law the infamous disfranchising constitution which the people had succeeded in rejecting by a large majority at the polls.

"The appointment and confirmation of this man to the Supreme Bench was not succeeded by any development of his capacity, mental calibre, learning or moral qualifications beyond what the discriminating public had credited him with. Although a Supreme Judge his propensity to run loyal leagues and to meddle in politics in the smallest way adhered to him.

"The public are advised that, a short time since, he was arrested on the affidavit of three *Republican* leaders for violating the Enforcement Act. According to the sworn statement of these citizens he was guilty of criminal interference with the freedom of the elective franchise."

And then the *Clarion* editor shows that these three men who caused the arrest of Tarbell had lost their offices by the mean tricks of the judge.

The following letter from the War Department will shed further light on this carpetbagger:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Adjutant-General's Office.
Washington, D. C. August, 23, 1862.

Special Order, number 203.

Extract

26. The proceedings of the General Court Martial which convened at Key West, Florida in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Tarbell, Ninetieth Regiment, New York Volunteers, have been submitted to the Secretary of War and the following are his orders: The sentence of the court is that the said Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Tarbell be dismissed from the service of the United States. The General has not the power to remit the sentence.

. . . . The charge of which he is convicted is 'disobedience of orders; neglect of duty; mutinous conduct; and conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman' are the gravest and nothing in the facts are suggested in excuse or mitigation. The sentence will be enforced and Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Tarbell is hereby dismissed from the service.

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. TOWNSEND.
Assistant Adjutant General.

(A true copy of the original.)⁴¹

This extract gives an insight into the previous history of Tarbell. It is thought that the sentence against him was never remitted, and

⁴¹ *Clarion*, October 1871.

that, when the "general" was in Mississippi, it was still hanging over him. Many of his decisions in the court of last resort have been reversed by later courts, but it must be admitted that J. Tarbell was a better judge than he was credited with being at that time.

Speaking of himself in a letter to Congressman Boutwell in January, 1869, on the Mississippi election of 1868, Tarbell said:

"The writer was hanged in effigy at the county seat (Hillsboro), only a few yards in front of the courthouse and thus 'perish all Yankees' was the universal sentiment. The effigy was allowed to hang over the sidewalk of the principal street in town for a week and I am not aware that leading citizens took any steps to take it down or condemn the perpetrators."

In the same letter he says, "One of the Klan has stated within a month that the writer would be shot through the head within a year." He continues as follows:

"Attending an educational meeting with my family, a lady, who is said to possess rare refinements, very emphatically declared in our hearing that Yankees would stand a long time before she would give them a seat. . . . While the writer was making some remarks, a well-dressed gentleman said, 'Hear the G—D— Yankee lie' and he was silenced only by some friends, who he knew would use their pistols. My county paper advises the people of the county to 'catch Tarbell and give him a coat of leathers.'"

These extracts give an idea of the man and of the attitude of the people toward him. Tarbell was an important character among the Republicans, being the leading carpetbagger of central Mississippi.

J. J. Ritch was a carpetbagger, according to some authorities,⁴² but others claim that he was a Southerner who moved into the county in 1866.⁴³ At any rate he settled after the surrender near Hillsboro, immediately identified himself with the Radical crowd and was under the dominance of John G. Owen. He was appointed by Governor Ames supervisor of beat one. He is described by those who knew him as being an undesirable citizen, to say the least.⁴⁴

Major George W. Corliss was a carpetbagger who was in the South at the time of the surrender, and remained. He was sent to Scott county by the freedmen's bureau and placed in charge of the bureau at Forest. Later he was transferred to the bureau at Lake, then he moved to Rankin county, where he was elected sheriff. He was in-

⁴² W. T. Roberson.

⁴³ D. S. Holmes, R. C. Cooper.

⁴⁴ W. T. Roberson and others.

dicted for several offenses and finally left the State, never to be heard of again by the enemies he left behind. It is reported that he was not so bold with his dishonesty in Scott county as he was elsewhere.⁴⁵

A third carpetbagger was Capt. George E. Hasie, who was also in the South at the close of the war. He did not come to the county until 1870, when he was appointed by Governor Ames county superintendent of education, mayor of Forest, justice of the peace, and chairman of the board of school directors and postmaster of Forest. His greed not being satisfied, he left the county in 1871 for richer fields. He was never a candidate for an office in the county and is reported to have been a very illiterate man. He was a dissipated sot; he entered Forest a few days before receiving his appointment and spent his first night in the county jail on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct.⁴⁶

Another carpetbagger by the name of Post came to the county soon after Hasie, and was appointed principal of the Forest Male Academy, which he taught for one session. He then left the county, never to be heard of again. Little is known of him.

Capt. John G. Owen was perhaps the leading Republican in the county. Having lived in the county for years before the war, he was well acquainted with the people. His home was at Hillsboro. He was one of the leaders of the negroes, and was an important factor in Radical affairs. At most of the elections during reconstruction he was a candidate for some office. He was a member of the first registration committee to be appointed in the county.

The following quotation from a letter, written from one Republican to another on June 15, 1868, gives a fair idea of the man as he was regarded by the Radicals:

Mr. J. G. Owen is a most remarkable man. He is totally blind and yet is perhaps the best informed man on the board (registrars). He is acquainted with two-thirds of all the registered voters in the county, can recognize them by their voice or footsteps and can repeat many of the essential laws and orders relating to Reconstruction *verbatim et literatim*. The eyes of this old man were inhumanely put out by political enemies during the war as a punishment for his steadfast loyalty to the United States, and there seems to be a sort of poetic justice in making him a judge of their qualifications now to exercise political rights under the government they attempted to destroy.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ W. T. Roberson.

⁴⁶ *Forest Register*, August, 1870.

⁴⁷ Letter of Brev. Maj., U. S. A., Thomas H. Norton, inspector of election, to General Gillem at Vicksburg. This letter was written at Forest.

Capt. John Owen was looked to by a large part of the negro voters for political advice, which they usually accepted literally, since their confidence in the blind leader was unlimited.

One old freedman told the writer that Captain Owen lost his eyesight in a difficulty with one Lunce Williams and that politics played no part in the difficulty.⁴⁸

Other leading Republicans were the following:

William McClenahan was one of the officers of the county Republican party for a long time and treasurer of the county under that régime. He was a native of the county.

J. M. Duncan, a native Republican, was appointed a member of the board of police from beat four. He was the leading Republican from that beat.⁴⁹

C. G. Gilmer, a native Republican, was the circuit and chancery clerk for a short time, and M. P. Holman, another native Republican, was appointed assessor. Lewis Brown, T. W. McCaul and Jonathan Summers also accepted offices under Republican appointment and are therefore classed among the leading Radicals of their parts of the county. The same is true of J. A. Chambers, mayor of Morton and W. M. Thornton, mayor of Lake. The principal evidence that they were Republicans was the fact that they accepted appointment from Governor Ames.

It has been very difficult to know in which list to include Capt. John R. Owen, the son of Capt. John G. Owen. He was appointed sheriff by the Radical crowd, was a candidate on the Democratic ticket for the same office and later was elected to the office of sheriff with no Republican opponent. In the light of these facts he might be placed in either party. He was always popular with the people; strangely he held the confidence of both Republicans and Democrats. He was honored with many offices of trust other than political ones by his Democratic neighbors.

He lived with his father in the county many years before the war, and was sheriff of the county during this time. When the summons came for men to go to the front, he organized (February 1862) a com-

⁴⁸ Bob Chisolm, Col. A. Y. Harper, and others claim that he lost his eyesight in a personal difficulty with Dan Fore. There are other versions of the difficulty, however. It was claimed by an eye witness that Owen lost his eyesight as the result of a fight caused by his braggadocio and conceit.

⁴⁹ From W. T. Roberson.

pany at Hillsboro of which he was later elected captain. August 18, 1864, he was made captain of Company I, Third Regiment of Mississippi Cavalry, organized at Hillsboro and Morton.

After the surrender he returned to his farm in the north-central part of the county and began to take an active part in politics. He held the office of sheriff under Republican and Democratic rule from 1867 to 1875, when he was defeated by a Democrat, R. T. M. Simmons. In 1873 Hon. Green B. Huddleston and a committee appointed by the board of supervisors to examine all books of county officers claimed to have found a shortage in his books as sheriff. This incident will be treated later.

Another carpetbagger was John Walden, who came to the county when the freedmen's bureau was being established, and was placed at the head of the bureau at Lake. Little is known of this man, other than that he came from Massachusetts and remained in the county only so long as the bureau position lasted and that he was sincerely hated by the citizens of Lake.⁵⁰

The last Republican to be mentioned in this connection is Mr. Jim Owen of Hillsboro, a man of some influence. He was a son of John G. Owen, who used him as a lieutenant.

III. ORGANIZATIONS.

The first two years after the war were not of much importance politically. The negro had not been granted suffrage rights; the carpetbaggers were just beginning to come and the Republican party had not been completely organized; the returned soldiers were studying the meat and bread question more than any political problem. In fact, during the first two years there was no serious political problem. The three thousand freed slaves were just beginning to be a problem. It was only after the organization of the Republican party, which was consummated after the carpetbaggers had arrived and had combined with the "scalawag" element, that the negro proved himself a serious political problem.

In numbers the carpetbaggers were small, but their influence was felt politically and economically by the wonderful control they had over the freedmen. Their influence over the blacks was very great

⁵⁰ From D. S. Holmes.

because of the fact that they came from that section of the country which, the negroes were made to believe, had brought about their freedom. When the blacks were told by these adventurers that the Republican party had given them freedom, many of them left their former masters, who had cared for them for months after the surrender, and joined the ranks of the party led by carpetbaggers and scalawags. But this was not accomplished without the use of falsehoods to the effect that the Democratic party desired to re-enslave the negroes. To make the negroes doubly loyal to the Republican party, the carpetbaggers and scalawags organized the blacks into political and social clubs, commonly known as loyal leagues.

Loyal Leagues.

After General Tarbell had become acquainted with the conditions in the county, he began to teach false doctrines to the negroes and to organize them into political clubs over the county. Little was accomplished during 1866; the main work of organization was begun in the summer of 1867, and by the election of 1868 the work was fairly completed. Tarbell succeeded on the night of February 23, 1869, in having himself elected president of the league so that he could direct its drastic work and policy. He was unselfish enough to allow the minor offices to go to the negroes, who were the backbone of the league.

These organizations continued to give the Democrats of the county trouble during every campaign of the reconstruction period. Through them the negroes were drilled in the "art" of voting and thoroughly indoctrinated with hatred of their former masters, who were their best friends. The first trouble occasioned directly by the loyal leagues occurred on the night of November 23, 1867, when a bloody affray was narrowly averted near Sherman Hill in beat two, where the negro belt was the blackest.⁵¹ The negroes had met to complete their organization. Many speeches were made by members of their own race in the presence of a few Conservative whites, which stirred the latent bitter feelings of the negro and they showed them in a most conspicuous manner. A general fight almost ensued, but no shots were fired, the difficulty being one mostly of words and ill-feeling.

On November 23, 1867, a negro member of the loyal league resigned and wrote the following letter which was published in the *Register*:

⁵¹ *Forest Register*, November 30, 1867.

"When I joined the loyal league I thought it was an organization for the benefit of my race But I find that it arrays the races in hostility to each other and I advise others in my situation to sever their connection with the organization."⁵²

This honest negro was the exception, however, in the county. A vast majority of the negroes were members, and remained in the organization as long as it existed in the county. They evidently believed that their political salvation was dependant upon the loyal league. The leading Republican in the county, John G. Owen, used his wonderful influence over the negroes in the league to further his political ambitions or those of his political faith.

On December 21, 1868, the *Forest Register* said:

"Through the Loyal Leagues and the Freedmen's Bureau and other agencies the freedmen have been so drilled as to make them worthless as laborers and from necessity they must become depredators upon property in order to subsist."

It is not known how many local organizations there were in the county. The work and plans of the league were, of course, kept secret. The three most important centers were Sherman Hill, Forest, and Hillsboro. Morton and Lake also had strong organizations. Nearly every precinct in the county had an organization, sooner or later. The number of members in the county also varied from time to time. It reached its zenith of power while Jonathan Tarbell was president of the league in 1869.⁵³

The Radicals, as a last extremity, were willing to teach the impossible doctrines of political and social equality through the league in order to maintain their supremacy. This served in a large measure to turn the heads of the hitherto peaceful negroes, and to give a powerful impetus to the growing animosity in their hearts.

In the later years of reconstruction not so much was heard of these negro clubs. Tarbell had gone, John G. Owen had lost his power, and Hasie, Post, Corliss and Walden were no longer citizens of the county. The loyal leagues after losing these leaders were never so strong. The remnants of the organizations were controlled entirely by negroes after 1871.⁵⁴

⁵² *Forest Register*, November 30, 1867.

⁵³ *Forest Register*, November, 1869.

⁵⁴ *Forest Register*, Bob Chisolm.

Freedmen's Bureau.

As noted above, James A. Glanville, editor of the *Forest Register*, stated that along with the loyal leagues was the freedmen's bureau, which also drilled the freedmen and made them worthless as laborers and depredators upon property. He stated that the negroes first began to give trouble in March, 1868, three months before the election on the constitution. It was three or four months before this that the freedmen's bureau was established in the county. Stations were located at Forest, Hillsboro and Lake.⁵⁵ A carpetbagger was placed in charge of each of these bureaus to administer "justice" to the freedmen. Maj. George W. Corliss, of Connecticut, was in charge of the bureau at Forest and Capt. John Walden, of Massachusetts, in charge of the bureau at Lake. Both of these men were Union officers at the close of the war and were commissioned by the federal officials to take charge of these bureaus. Both were plunderers and were seeking by semi-official means to rob both whites and blacks and incidentally to develop the seeds of discord which were well sown by the loyal leagues. On February 23, 1868, Maj. George W. Corliss went to Rankin county and Capt. J. Walden was transferred to the station at Forest (*Forest Register*, February 26, 1868).

The bureau at Forest was located on the north side of the public square on the lot now occupied by the Clark residence. There Corliss sat every day and decided cases in which the rights of freedmen were involved. The Major had almost supreme power in misdemeanors, to find guilty or innocent all who had, in his opinion, done any wrong to any freedmen. Whenever a freedman became involved in a difficulty with a white man, he would repair in haste to the Major, who would forthwith summon the white man and frequently convict and fine him heavily without the privilege of a jury trial, and frequently upon the sole testimony of the negro. It is thought that most of these fines found their way into the pocket of the bureau agent.

A negro and a white man on the farm of Roderick Moore got into a difficulty which ended in a fight. The origin and nature of this trouble are not remembered. The negro went to Major Corliss, who sum-

⁵⁵ D. S. Holmes.

moned the white man, and in less than a day after the difficulty the white man had to pay a fine and was found guilty upon the sole testimony of the negro.⁵⁶

The bureau continued in the county for several months, or until the first election. The bureau at Lake was discontinued in February, 1868, when Captain Walden went to Forest. Although the bureau did not operate long in the county, it was there long enough to undermine the confidence of the negroes in the white people. Immediately after the surrender most of the freedmen remained loyal to their former masters and remained so until the bureau was established and its organizers began to teach political and social equality. They encouraged the brutal and resentful spirit in the heart of the colored race and widened the breach between the former master and slave. Many instances could be cited of cases of minor difficulties between negroes and white men, for which the white men were convicted on the flimsiest kind of evidence.⁵⁷

The bureau did not control any land in the county and did not make the usual promise of forty acres and a mule as in other communities in the State.⁵⁸

Before leaving this phase of the subject it might be well to give a short quotation from the act creating the freedmen's bureau, as this gives some idea of the nature of its work. It begins,

"An act to establish a Bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees. . . . That the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel states or from any district or community" (shall be in the hands of this bureau).⁵⁹

This act was passed and went into effect in some communities before the surrender. Of course, Scott county was too far South to be affected before 1866.

Federal Troops.

Along with the freedmen's bureau and the loyal leagues and other organizations which tended to stir up strife were the federal troops stationed at three towns in the county—Forest, Lake and Hillsboro.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Bob Chisolm (colored).

⁵⁷ Joe Harper, W. T. Roberson, Bob Chisolm (colored).

⁵⁸ From G. W. Gray, D. S. Holmes, Bob Chisolm (colored) and the *Forest Register*.

⁵⁹ *Panola Star*, August 12, 1865.

⁶⁰ From W. T. Roberson.

These troops accompanied the bureau agents to the county. They were especially vigilant in the election of June, 1868. Although there seems to have been only six soldiers at Forest during this election,⁶¹ one old negro (Joe Harper) reported that there were three hundred soldiers in the county at that time. These soldiers were detached from the Jackson company especially for this election. They were under the control of Gen. George W. Corliss, of the bureau. The *Forest Register* is authority for the statement that these soldiers were peaceful. No account of any of their violence has been heard of. The Radical carpetbagger, Jonathan Tarbell, in his letter to Congressman Boutwell on January 14, 1869, says that troops, "sent here at our request to protect us during the election, talked openly and publicly of their desire to shoot 'Radicals and niggers.'" Evidently from Tarbell's own statement these troops had very little love for men of his stripe.

The *Forest Register* of February 26, 1868, states that a squad of cavalry from the Fifth Regiment was on the streets of Forest for some time. It is thought that these troops were on their way to DeKalb, Kemper county, Mississippi, and did not tarry long in Scott county.

The influence of the troops was very indefinite. Evidently there was little need for them and they were sent only upon the urgent request of J. Tarbell "to protect us during the election."⁶² There is a conflict of testimony about the number of troops sent to the county. A few of the residents state that troops were at Hillsboro, Lake and Forest. According to the report of Nathaniel Wolfe, Second Lieutenant, Thirty-fourth Infantry A. A. A. G., giving the number of troops and the places they were stationed in Mississippi, there was only one detachment sent to Scott county, and these were stationed at Forest. He says that there was no commissioned officer with this detachment of only six soldiers from the Jackson company. They were sent under the special command of General Gillem for the election beginning June 22, 1868. Troops were sent to fifty-two towns in the State for this election and each town was given from five to three hundred troops. Only the more important points received the protection of the troops. It can be safely stated that both factions at this time did not want these troops.

⁶¹ *Senate Document 56* (1868), on "Mississippi Affairs."

⁶² Letter to Boutwell.

The second occasion on which troops were sent to the county was in the midst of the sectional controversy about the location of the county seat. An account of this will be given under another head.

Ku Klux Klan.

Seeing the solid strength of the carpetbaggers and the growing influence of the Republican organizations over the negroes, the Democrats determined to meet organization with organization. It was in the summer of 1868 that the negroes began to give trouble. This was probably due to the influence of the loyal leagues and the freedmen's bureau. Although the Democrats had no difficulty in carrying the county vote against the constitution of 1868, by a large majority, and in electing representatives to both branches of the legislature, the need of an effective organization was beginning to be felt at that time. When the election of 1869 came and was lost by the Democrats they saw that something must be done. Before this time there were in all parts of the county many men who advocated the organization of a Ku Klux Klan, similar to those of other counties in the State. But the advice of the more conservative element prevailed until the summer of 1868 and no definite organization was perfected until that time.

Judge T. B. Graham was one of the most conservative Democrats in the county, and his advice was often sought by the leading members of that party. He argued against the Ku Klux Klan until March, 1868, when he gave his consent to its organization. One dark, stormy night in that month several of the leading citizens met over one of the stores in Forest and perfected the organization of a den of the Ku Klux Klan. Judge T. B. Graham was made grand cyclops and J. A. Glanville, editor of the *Forest Register*, was chosen to one of the minor offices.⁶³

This was the only den of a regular Ku Klux Klan organization that ever existed in the county, though unsuccessful attempts were made to organize in other parts of the county. The influential whites,

⁶³ The leading men in the county seemed very reluctant to give facts about the K. K. K. Some of them even denied its existence. Most of them said there was an organization for a short time, but that they were not members. The facts are gathered from the *Forest Register* and from W. T. Roberson, the only surviving member of the Klan in the county and from S. P. Sedberry.

seeing no necessity for such an organization, would not give their sanction.

The Ku Klux Klan has been charged with every crime from stealing to murder. Everything that could be warped into violence was laid at the door of that organization. But we are told that its members were not guilty of one-tenth of the crimes said to have been committed by them. Hardly a month passed without some murder or assault, and this was usually charged against the Ku Klux Klan. That the work of the Klan could not have been extensive is shown by the fact that few of the men living outside of beat one knew that such an organization existed in the county.

The first notice of the Klan was the following published in the *Forest Register*, on April 1, 1868:

"VENGEANCE, RETRIBUTION, TRAITORS, BEWARE!

Valley of Death, Twenty-Eighth May,
Third Mortal Month, X 10.

K.K.K.'s. You are ordered to assemble at the Dark Valley on the night of the first mortal month at the hour of Silence. Come prepared. Work to do. Lamps to extinguish. Darkness to follow.

By command,
K.G.C.B.R.G.C.

S.T. 5X.

EDITOR REGISTER: Refuse to publish this notice at your peril. You are watched. Enough!!!"

James A. Glanville, the editor, claimed to his readers that the above notice was thrown in at one of the windows of his printing office. He was however, at the time of the publication, an officer in the local den and probably penned the notice. Whether the notice was for a regular call or was merely to scare some unwary freedman is not known. It will be noticed that it was published on April 1, and may have been "a little April fool joke on some of the negroes."

The Ku Klux Klan in the county did very little work, not because of fear of punishment, but because there was little work that needed to be done in that particular county. Some valuable work, mainly along the line of intimidation, was done by these mysterious Klansmen before the election of June, 1868.

Tarbell said on January 14, 1869, "One of the Klan has stated within a month that the writer would be 'shot through the head within a year.'" Perhaps the above statement was made and many earnestly wished that it would occur, but none of the Klansmen ever officially made the statement.

On November 18, 1871, a difficulty occurred in the southern part of the county.⁶⁴ One negro was killed and several were wounded, many shots being fired by both sides. The opponents of the white Democrats tried to place the responsibility for this violence on the shoulders of the Klansmen. But the writer is positive that the organization had nothing to do officially with the violence. A few weeks before this a mysterious killing occurred at Forest, and many people tried to lay the blame on the Ku Klux Klan, but they were mistaken. Several negroes were lynched at Forest, and killings and assaults made this year a reign of terror for the peaceful inhabitants, but the Klan was not responsible for any of the violence.

On March 4, 1871, the following letter appeared in the *Forest Register*:

"At half past one o'clock last night, I was startled by a volley of brickbats being fired through the glass over my door. I found on going out this morning what purports to be a K.K.K.'s notice. It read thus 'First notice, K.K.K.'s.' Below this was a photo or picture of a coffin. I am teaching a colored school in this place (Forest). Mr. Skead was with me; he was passing on his way to Hillsboro. If you wish to comment on this I have no objection and am responsible for the facts.

Very respectfully,
T. W. CREVETTE,
Teacher Colored School."

The editor made no comment on this occurrence in this or the succeeding issues of the home paper. This was clearly a case of the work of the Ku Klux Klan. It illustrates well the object and purpose of the Klan. Crevette was an arrogant, unscrupulous, sullen negro teacher who was poisoning the minds, not only of the children under his care but of the older negroes of Forest by doctrines of political and social equality and of hatred for the whites.⁶⁵ The only way to stop this uncalled-for agitation was to warn the teacher. No second warning was necessary. Crevette taught the remainder of the session, behaved himself properly, but was never heard of in Forest again.⁶⁶

On another occasion in the same summer, Sam West, a negro preacher living in the southern part of the county on the Windham plantation, was spreading the seeds of discord among the blacks of that neighborhood. He was also feeling his importance, as he was

⁶⁴ *Forest Register*, November, 1871.

⁶⁵ From W. T. Roberson.

⁶⁶ *Forest Register*, March 4, 1871.

just completing a term on the board of supervisors from beat two and was at the time a candidate to succeed himself. Several white men, not desiring to do him violence, but only to teach him a good lesson, went to his home for the purpose of giving him a good scare and some wholesome advice. Sam, hearing of the intended visit, barricaded his home and got several of his negro friends to stay with him that night. All were heavily armed. When the whites arrived and found the home barricaded and the negroes armed, they demanded that Sam come out and talk to them. This he refused. Several shots were fired on each side, resulting in Sam's death.⁶⁷

This violence caused much ill feeling between the races and an attempt was made to lay the responsibility for it at the door of the Ku Klux Klan, but they were not responsible. This was the case with all of the serious acts of violence in the county. The Ku Klux Klan was not responsible for any of these acts.

After the election of 1871 in which the Democrats secured many of the offices in the county, the organization died out, never to appear on the surface again. Its mysterious work had a salutary effect on the negroes. Doubtless some of its members were in some of the lynchings at Forest, but they were there as individuals, not as members of the Klan.

It has been impossible to secure the secret code, grips and passwords, or a description of the disguise worn. So far as is known there is but one living member of the Klan and he refuses to divulge its secrets.⁶⁸

There were at various times from 1868 to 1875 several organizations in different parts of the county, whose object was to persuade the negro to occupy his place and to vote the Democratic ticket, or not vote at all. None of these ever received an official name. Their work may be illustrated by the organization in beat two in 1875. It is said that men in this organization went around a few nights before the election and told the negroes they would see them on election day. No threats of any kind were made but in most cases this was sufficient. The negroes being in a minority in every beat except beat two, this simple method was very effective.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ From H. H. Halbert.

⁶⁸ From W. T. Roberson, S. B. Sedberry and D. S. Holmes.

⁶⁹ From H. H. Halbert and Calvin Jones.

IV. GOVERNMENT.

After the war all officers were appointed for two years. What is now known as the board of supervisors was called the board of police. The chancery and circuit clerks were combined in Scott county. There was a probate clerk and a probate court in each county. Each county officer was supposed to hold for a term of two years, either by appointment or election.

When Judge William L. Sharkey was made provisional governor he appointed all the county officers who were holding at the close of the war.

Board of Police.

The members of the board of police appointed by Governor Sharkey, in 1865 were: Jonathan Liverman, Robert Evans, J. S. Halbert, Lindsey Harvey and L. P. Murrell.⁷⁰ All of these men were Democrats, at least at that time, and they served the county well. There seems to have been no complaint against them. Their first duty was to reorganize the finances of the county, and to get the county government back to its normal condition. In this they were in a degree successful, as will be found under the discussion of the economic condition of the county.

These men served until 1867, with the exception of three members, whose places were filled by appointments from General Gillem. Daniel Fore, W. A. Lack and ——— Harralson were at different times added to the board. Little is known of these men.⁷¹

The entire personnel of the board changed early in January, 1870. Governor Ames appointed a full board of true Radicals, some of whom were of the worst stripe. J. J. Ritch, the notorious radical from beat one, served on the board long after the other beats had succeeded in overthrowing the Republicans. All of the members of this board were living in the county before the war and most of them were natives of the county. Few officers have been more disliked than they. A list of them will be found in the Appendix.⁷² They

⁷⁰ *Forest Register*.

⁷¹ Official proceedings of the board of police and marriage record.

⁷² See *infra*.

held office for one year only, when they were "recalled" by political mentors at Jackson and their places were filled by men of even worse character.

J. H. Owen, of whom we have heard so much, was given the coveted position from beat one. One carpetbagger, John Walden, was on this board. He was also the bureau agent at Lake, but did not hold both positions at the same time. The agency at Lake was discontinued in February, 1868 and Walden was transferred to Forest. He had given up this position when he received the appointment above mentioned. The other members of the board were native Republicans. One of these later held the position of circuit and chancery clerk.

The voters were given their first real opportunity to express their wills in the election of November 1861. And in this first election the Conservatives secured three of the positions on the board. The Presidency of the board went to a true Democrat, J. S. Halbert. W. A. Gatewood barely defeated the negro politician, Sam West; D. S. Holmes, the Conservative from Lake, had no opposition. The other members were Radicals, one of whom, J. J. Ritch, had held the position by appointment before.

Two years later there was but one Republican on the board. J. J. Ritch succeeded the third time in defeating a Democrat for supervisor from the coveted beat one. But he was in a hopeless minority in this body, for the other four members were true Conservatives and were men who had the interest of the people of the county at heart. In 1875 the entire board, for the first time in six years, was Democratic. Dr. S. Davis succeeded in defeating J. J. Ritch in beat one by a very small majority. A complete list of the supervisors will be found in the Appendix.

An account of some of the acts of the board will be found under the discussion of the economic condition of the county. On May 1, 1868 James A. Glanville in the *Forest Register* charged J. J. Ritch of beat one with being ignorant of his duties, of being illiterate and dishonest. He claimed that he and most of the citizens of the county were reasonably sure that the above fact of dishonesty was true, but that it was difficult to prove. Two months later the *Forest Register* charged that the board had met in an unlawful place at an unlawful time and, to cover up some of their questionable transactions, did not

notify Robert Evans of Morton, who would not join with some of them in their tricks. Evans, the *Register* claimed, was held in contempt by some members of the board. The authorities at Jackson thought he was a radical, and while nominally against the Conservatives, he did not support the Radicals in all their acts. For this reason, the *Forest Register* claimed that some of the members of the board did not like him. These statements are vouched for.

It has been very difficult to get direct proof or specific acts of dishonesty on the part of members of the board, but that the board of police did many things of which the Conservatives did not approve is shown by the many references in the county paper, very uncomplimentary to say the least, to the actions of that body. It made frequent charges that none of the members of the board could even calculate percentage, that they were almost criminally ignorant and negligent of their duties and were working solely for their own interest. At one of their meetings a shooting scrape occurred, the particulars of which have not been ascertained.⁷³

A committee composed of Jas. A. Glanville, Wyatt Wooten and Green B. Huddleston was appointed in 1875 to examine the finances of the county for the preceding ten years. An account of their findings is given elsewhere in this study.⁷⁴ It is only necessary in this connection to state that they found the books in very bad shape, county warrants missing and unmistakable evidence of many questionable transactions. About this time Dr. S. Davis resigned from the board, claiming that the people resented his efforts to ascertain the indebtedness of the county and to bring the county warrants to their money value.⁷⁵

Sheriffs and Tax Collectors.

During most of the reconstruction period the office of sheriff and tax-collector was held by some member of the Owen family. John G. Owen, the blind Whig, was sheriff at the close of the war and was appointed by Governor Sharkey soon afterwards. At that time he was a member of no party, the old Whig party having gone out of existence. He joined the Republican party when it was organized in the county.

⁷³ *Forest Register*, December 17, 1873.

⁷⁴ See "Economic Conditions," *infra*.

⁷⁵ *Forest Register*, December, 1875.

His son, John R. Owen was appointed by the Federal authorities in 1867 and served by election until 1875. In 1871 he had no opponent and received the combined votes of the two parties. In the primary election of 1873 he was nominated by the Democrats over T. P. Marion, T. J. Denson, and ——— Lloyd. Many of the Republicans were against him, and they placed W. Spencer in nomination. Owen was again elected, carrying every precinct in the county, except Forest and Homewood. Many of the Republicans supported him. In 1875 he was again a candidate for the Democratic nomination, but was defeated by R. T. M. Simmons, the next sheriff of the county. In this last election Owen did not even carry his own home precinct, Hillsboro, but was defeated for the nomination by the small majority of 79. Simmons had come to the county in 1870, had been elected constable three years later and had won much popularity over the county.

Only two weeks before the election of 1875 Green B. Huddleston, as spokesman for the committee appointed to investigate the finances of the county, reported that John R. Owen was short in his accounts as sheriff from \$1,000 to \$2,500 for every year that he had been sheriff with the sole exception of 1868.⁷⁶

Circuit and Chancery Clerks.

R. W. Bond, a Democrat who did not go to the war, acted as probate clerk while his neighbors were at the front. In 1865 Governor W. L. Sharkey appointed him to the same position, which he held until the summer of 1869, when he was replaced by a native Republican named, C. G. Gilmer. Little is known of this latter officer, except that he had lived in the county before the war and had become a Republican after the surrender. He held the office until the latter part of January 1872. In November 1871, he was the Republican candidate for the office against J. B. Blackwell, a well known Democrat, who had come to the county from Smith county a few years before and was for a part of the time an editor of the *Forest Register*. Blackwell defeated the Radical by the small majority of 99. He performed his duties so well that the office was given to him by the voters without much effort on his part for the next twelve years.

⁷⁶ *Forest Register*, August, 1875.

He had represented the counties of Smith, Newton and Scott in the State senate from 1865 to 1867. In 1867 Blackwell belonged to the Constitutional Union party, which he supported with all his vigor while editor of the local paper.

In 1873 and 1874 Blackwell had no opponents, and of course was elected with no effort on his part. He seemed to be popular with both classes. There were 190 Republican and Democratic votes polled at Forest in the election of 1873 and Blackwell received all but eight of these. This was practically the case at every precinct.

While Blackwell had no Republican opponent in 1875 he was opposed for the Democratic nomination by J. L. Gresham, but defeated his opponent by a vote of 826 to 305, carrying every precinct in the county except Ludlow.

Justices of the Peace.

There was little worthy of note in the careers of the many justices of the peace who held office from 1865 to 1875. A list of these may be found in the Appendix.⁷⁷ As a rule the men appointed in 1865 were true Democrats, while the personnel gradually changed until in 1869 most of them were Republicans. From then until 1871 all of them were Radicals of varying degrees. From 1871 to 1875 most of the local justices were Democrats. A negro by the name of Hightower is said to have been the only colored justice of the peace in the county. Many negroes were candidates in every election from 1869 to 1875, and at times they received majorities over their white opponents, but the Conservative managers of the elections succeeded in every case in counting them out.⁷⁸

Frequent accounts of their ignorance and neglect of duty occurred in the county paper. It was said (*Forest Register*) that two of the justices in beat three, names not given, could not read or write, and that they signed all papers with marks.

Constables.

Several negroes were elected constable and many more ran for the office and were defeated in various ways. The most striking example is that of Nath Carr, a negro living in beat two. When Nath

⁷⁷ See *infra*.

⁷⁸ From W. T. Roberson and H. H. Halbert.

was elected he did now know what constable meant. A list of these officers is included in the Appendix.⁷⁹

Legislators.

At the surrender Roderick Moore was the representative of the county in the State legislature and was appointed to the same position when Governor Sharkey was made provisional governor in the fall of 1865. On October 2, the first election in the county was held after the war and Roderick Moore was reelected to the same position. He held office until the election of 1869. June 22, 1868, he was elected without opposition in the election at which the constitution was rejected.

In 1869 John G. Owen, the Republican of whom so much has been said, was elected to the legislature, which position he held for two years. His service in the State legislature is marked by no great degree of ability. During his whole term of service he introduced only one bill, which was passed under a suspension of the rules. This was a bill in regard to taxation in Scott county, and was entitled House Bill number 350, "to legalize the levying of county taxes in Scott county."

In 1871 Dr. John Gaddis, of Morton, succeeded in defeating John G. Owen for representative by a very small majority. The Democratic party were very careful in the selection of their candidate, knowing that the personality of the man they selected would largely determine the question of their success. When they nominated Mr. Gaddis, they selected a true Democrat and a man of ability. The blind Republican, the most popular Radical in the county, polled the full vote of his party, but was defeated by a majority of 77. Owen carried Forest precinct by a vote of 317 to 173 and Ludlow by a vote of 97 to 81.⁸⁰

John G. Crecelius, the Baptist minister living at Antioch, was the Democratic nominee two years later and was opposed by two negroes, Henry Garrett and Austin Madison. One of the negroes must have been a candidate on the Independent ticket. These negroes were leading colored citizens. Henry Garrett was perhaps the negro leader

⁷⁹ See *infra*.

⁸⁰ The election returns are given in the *Forest Register* for November, 1871.

of the county. Both of these negro candidates were above the average negro in intelligence. They had some education, enough to read and write. Henry Garrett was the blacksmith at Forest. Crecelius carried every precinct in the county, except Forest, and defeated both of his opponents in the first race. Garrett defeated both of his opponents at the Forest precinct. Madison received but 60 votes in the entire county.

In the Democratic primary of August, 1875, Green B. Huddleston was nominated over W. L. Lowrey, H. C. McCabe and the incumbent, J. G. Crecelius, and was elected without an opponent in the November election.

In June, 1868, J. B. Blackwell was elected State senator from the eleventh senatorial district, which included the counties of Scott, Newton and Smith. He lived in Forest, where he edited the county paper.

In 1871, Capt. T. J. Hardy, of Smith county, a regular Democrat, received the nomination from the Conservative voters for the State senate and was elected. He was reelected in 1873 and in 1875.

Courts and Violence.

Perhaps the lawlessness in Scott county was the greatest handicap to its progress during reconstruction days. Several hundred heroic soldiers, downcast in spirit, but determined to have justice, several thousand freed slaves, taught Radical and unreasonable doctrines by carpetbaggers and native Republicans, constituted two hostile factions, which were in a life and death struggle for political and economic supremacy. In this conflict it was too often the case that might made right and human life was lightly esteemed. From 1867 to 1872 few weeks passed without a murder or serious assault. A complete account of the deeds of violence during this reign of terror cannot be given, since many of them that were never reported to the *Forest Register* attracted so little attention in those troublous times that nobody remembers them today. Political troubles and differences were the causes of some of these outrages; rapacity and impudence on the part of freedmen were the causes of others; individual and race differences of still others. And in many cases no definite cause can be assigned, as the particulars are not known. It is a disagreeable task

to recount these awful deeds, all of which are taken from accounts published in the *Forest Register*, usually a week or two after the occurrence.

One of the first evidences of violence, of which the writer has definite knowledge, but by no means the first to occur, was the lynching of Thomas C. Att, a negro living at Forest. On the morning of January 29, 1868, some of the citizens of the town were somewhat startled to find the body of Thomas hanging on Main street. The cause of this lynching is not known.

In the issue of the *Forest Register* for August 29, 1868, James A. Glanville, in an editorial on the condition of the county, speaks of the troublous times the county was passing through. Without giving any particulars he mentioned that assaults and murders were becoming too frequent. Two weeks later he told of the trouble Forest was having, due to the fact that the negroes were holding frequent meetings and that many of them were carrying guns all the time and were shooting them promiscuously on the streets at night.

That same month there was considerable excitement among the negroes at Forest over a serious difficulty between George Kirkland and a certain white man living in the town. The exact nature of the trouble is not known.

The next month a white man named W. A. Boone murdered J. W. Kitchens at Coffeebogue, in the northern part of the county. Politics played some part in this difficulty, but the exact cause of the trouble is not known. Only a week before this a cutting affray occurred between two freedmen in the northern part of the county. On May 26, 1870, an outrageous assault occurred in Forest. The name of the negro assailant was not known, nor was he ever apprehended. On July 23, 1870, Alfred Parker, a negro, was killed by a white man, named Clarke, near Walnut Grove over the line in Scott county. It was said that this killing grew indirectly out of the teachings of J. Tarbell and others of his class. On November, 18, 1870, one of the officers of the county was fired on, but escaped unhurt.

In April of that year, race trouble began at Forest over an old debt. Anthony Hendon, a negro, refused to pay Hogun and Lipscomb, a mercantile firm, a certain old account, which they had been carrying for some time. Becoming very angry one day, Anthony, assisted by three of his neighbors, attacked Mr. Lipscomb. A race war was

narrowly averted. Anthony lived near Homewood, and twenty armed negroes marched from that neighborhood to Hillsboro to see what their advisor, John G. Owen, would have them do.⁸¹ One negro reported to the writer that there were fifty in the body.⁸² As it was necessary for these armed negroes to march through or around Forest, a force of white people waited one mile north of the town, hoping that they would pass that way. But the fear of the negroes caused them to pass around Forest and this averted trouble for the time. When these negroes arrived at Hillsboro, they were advised by Mr. Owen to let the question drop. They followed his advice, and this ended the difficulty.

The next year was similar to 1870 in being very bloody and full of violence. All of the accounts of violent deeds have not been learned, but the following is a fair representation of most of them:

The year, 1871, was ushered in by a very mysterious murder, which took place the very first week in January. The cause of this crime is unknown. All that the *Forest Register* gives regarding this murder is that it occurred in Forest.

In June, 1871, Thomas Drummond, of Forest, was assaulted and shot by an unknown negro assassin. The culprit was never ascertained nor his purpose other than robbery learned. In March of the same year an unsuccessful attempt was made by the negroes of Forest, aided by a few outsiders, to break into the jail. They were attempting to free a member of their own race with whom they sympathized. In that same month a minor negro trouble was begun in beat two near Halbert's plantation.

The next year was not so full of violence as the two preceding, but at times there was considerable excitement. In April, 1872, there was mysterious trouble with some negro at Forest. The county paper gave no names, simply referring to it as worthy to be condemned.

On another occasion, a few weeks later, a freedman named Berry Smith became a little too impudent and several white men caught him at the depot at Forest and proceeded to give him a good thrashing behind closed doors. Some of the negroes, thinking he would be killed, rushed on the depot, broke in the door and saved, as they thought,

⁸¹ From Bob Chisolm and *Forest Register*, April, 1860.

⁸² From Bob Chisolm.

the life of Berry. There was no intention on the part of any of the whites to do the negro any serious bodily harm, but the mistake on the part of the negroes nearly caused a race war in the town. Serious trouble was brewing in the county seat for several days. A day or two before Christmas of that year (1872), William Pinkston, a white citizen of Forest, was killed by another white man, named Oliver Rushing. The cause of the difficulty is not given by the county paper.

A few weeks before this (October, 1872), two Germans were passing through the county and several negroes attacked and brutally assaulted them without provocation.

The next year, an election year, was the time for more violence. In June the negroes lost confidence in one of their own race, named Lack. They caught and hanged him in Forest, and after filling his body full of bullets burned it.

In December of that year a near lynching occurred at Forest, when for some trivial reason Anderson Futch, a fifteen year old negro boy, assaulted a son of R. H. Ward. A few weeks before this William and Jesse Jones brutally attacked a white man at Lake named John Buckley. They killed him with an ax and a butcher knife. Excitement was at fever heat for some time; the sheriff finally landed the culprits in the jail at Forest. A race riot was almost occasioned around the jail, when the whites attempted to break in the jail to lynch the two negroes. . The negroes rallied around the jail to protect the prisoners of their own color. The attempt to get in was unsuccessful. William and Jesse Jones were tried the next year in the circuit court, the jury was packed with Republicans mostly and in spite of this fact the prisoners were convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged. Later Governor Ames committed a great travesty upon justice by pardoning these guilty culprits. The papers of the State criticized the pardon vigorously and the *Jackson Pilot*, Ames' official organ, was forced to make a feeble attempt to defend it.

C. M. Whithead killed Dr. John Herbert at Homewood over an old account in October, 1874, and was acquitted in March, 1875.

In February of 1875 the jail of Forest was set on fire by a carpet-bagger named Bible, whose home was in Michigan. Bible had been arrested and placed in the jail on some kind of a charge, and in trying to escape, set the building on fire and burned himself to death. The following June there was a mysterious negro lynching and burning

at Forest. In February John Russell, a negro, working for R. S. Ratliffe, a peaceful farmer living a few miles from Walnut Grove, killed his employer on account of some minor difference. In April, a white man by the name of Robinson killed another white man named Casey. The cause of the difficulty was not known.

The *Forest Register* of April 14 claimed that pistols and guns were heard at all times, day and night. In that same month the negroes of Forest hired a train and went to Lake to celebrate the release of Reuben Burge, who had been convicted of robbing Mrs. Thornton and had but recently been pardoned by Governor Ames.

On August 15, Dr. J. W. Lack got into a dispute at a political rally and killed Matthew Jordan, a Democrat. Several shots were accidentally fired into the crowd nearby, and James Turner was hit by a stray bullet.⁸³

About the same time of the year a negro named Riley Moore killed Alonzo Walters. Riley was angry with his former negro friend, and went to his home, called him out to the front gate and gave him a mortal wound. Riley was also wounded.

After the election in 1875, Dr. Veazy, a young physician living at Forest, got into a dispute with a negro preacher named Carter about the sale of liquor and the physician killed the preacher.

Many other assaults and some other murders occurred, but these are sufficient to show what a reign of terror existed during these few years. Many of the guilty parties were never tried and if tried and convicted they were frequently pardoned by Governor Ames, particularly if they were Republicans. So far as is known there was not an official hanging in Scott county from 1865 to 1875. The few convicted criminals were either pardoned or had their sentences commuted. But the large number of cases in which the citizens took the law into their own hands casts a shadow on the history of the county.

Courts.

The first notice of the courts in the county, among the records accessible to the writer, is in 1868, when Jonathan Tarbell was probate judge, R. E. Leachman, circuit judge, and T. R. Gowan,

⁸³ From R. T. M. Simmons.

chancellor of the seventeenth district, which included Simpson, Smith, and Scott counties. Maj. T. H. Woods was the district attorney of the circuit district. Tarbell served until he was appointed to the supreme bench early in 1870. Judge R. E. Leachman served his district during the whole reconstruction period. T. R. Gowan served as chancellor until 1873, when a dispute arose between him and a carpetbagger named R. B. Stone over that position. The merits of this dispute have not been learned. Both men had a certificate of appointment from some of the central authorities. Stone was recognized by the county officers, when both came to the county to hold court. But the Forest bar indorsed T. R. Gowan and advised all of their clients to this effect. Stone afterwards received the official recognition of Ames for the position and moved to Forest in June, 1874. He was chancellor for two years. In 1876 Judge T. B. Graham, a staunch Democrat of the old school, was appointed by Governor Stone and was reappointed by every governor for twenty years.

There was very little respect for the courts during the reconstruction period. The *Forest Register* tried earnestly to persuade the people to place their confidence in the officials in charge of these courts, but the efforts were mostly in vain. The people believed that the sheriff was corrupt and that the Republican on the bench would not give them justice. This was one of the causes of so much lynching during those years of strife and trouble. Negroes sat on both petit and grand juries. At times a large portion of the jury would be negroes. On an average, there were from three to five negroes on every jury in the first part of the period. This made it exceedingly difficult to indict and convict. The juries that contained the greatest number of negroes were those chosen from 1869 to 1872. After the latter date the number gradually grew smaller from year to year. But negroes continued to sit on juries even after reconstruction.⁸⁴

The penitentiary reports during the ten years after the war never showed more than two men from Scott county at one time and two of these reports show that when they were issued there was not a single citizen of the county in the penitentiary. These facts in the light of the numerous instances of known violence in the county show beyond a reasonable doubt that something was wrong with the courts of justice.

⁸⁴ From W. T. Roberson.

At times the ignorant chancery and circuit clerks and the sheriff would forget or neglect to perform their duties on time, and courts could not be held. This occurred in July, 1870, when the clerk and sheriff were so negligent of their duty that the term of court had to be pretermitted. Witnesses had not been summoned on time, papers had not been filed and the general business was in disorder.⁸⁵

Despite the fact that in 1870 there were but 4,680 whites and 3,167 negroes in the county, and their natural, almost universal, contempt for the courts, the grand jury at the special December term of the circuit court in 1870 returned thirty indictments, a larger number than is usually returned by the juries today (1912) when the county has more than doubled in population.

Few of the men charged with the killings and assaults above mentioned were ever tried; fewer were convicted; and still fewer served sentences in the penitentiary.⁸⁶

County Site Question.

The question that occasioned the most sectional ill-feeling in the history of the county was about the removal of the county site. Soon after the establishment of the county government the county site was located at Hillsboro and remained there until after the close of the war. When the legislature first convened after the surrender (October 2, 1865), the question of the location of the county seat of Scott county was brought up and on November 8, 1865,⁸⁷ an act was passed giving the power to the board of police to authorize at their December term an election in the county to decide upon the location of the seat of government. Thirty days were to be given the board for advertising and posting notices about the election, and the people were to vote their choice between Forest and Hillsboro. All who were qualified to vote for members of the legislature were eligible to vote in this election. The act further provided for the erection of a courthouse at Forest and the removal of the records to that place in case that town should prove to be the choice of the voters. This act went into effect upon its passage.

⁸⁵ *Forest Register*, July, 1870.

⁸⁶ From D. S. Holmes.

⁸⁷ *Laws of Mississippi*, 1865.

The election was held; Forest was selected by a good majority.⁸⁸ The board of police then let the contract for the courthouse and jail to be built at that place. The records were removed early in 1866. At this time there was the most bitter feeling between the factions for Hillsboro and Forest. Hillsboro citizens claimed that their town was nearer the center of the county than was Forest. On the other hand, the Forest sympathizers claimed that their town was more conveniently located by being on the Vicksburg and Meridian railroad. Each town was in beat one, and the selection of either would not have been injurious to the county. But the feeling grew stronger each week.

When the new courthouse was nearly completed a crowd of citizens, who did not favor the location at Forest, came secretly to that town and almost tore off the roof of the building before they were stopped. A number of Forest citizens watched the building the remainder of the night and each night thereafter for some time. But later some incendiaries, evidently spurred by an intense hatred of Forest, set fire to the courthouse in the hope that the county seat would be located elsewhere if the building were burned.⁸⁹ But the building was only partly destroyed.

On July next Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commander of the fourth military district, including Mississippi, suspended arbitrarily the act of the legislature under which the county seat was removed from Hillsboro to Forest and ordered that all action looking to the removal of the records be suspended.⁹⁰ The *Forest Register* of November 16, 1867, contained the following:

"For the first two years the courthouse question was discussed. Elections have been held and Forest was selected. A courthouse and jail were erected at an enormous expense. But some claim that this is not done with the choice of the people and the decision of the court. The district commander ignored these decisions and issued General Order, No. 149 for another election. This order has had a distinctive tendency."

After the first election above mentioned, Hillsboro charged that the election had been carried by fraud and desired that the precincts at Forest and Lake be thrown out of the general count, thus giving them a majority. The Hillsboro lawyers, Mayers and W. L. Lowrey,

⁸⁸ From B. B. Whittington.

⁸⁹ D. S. Holmes, W. A. Gatewood, S. P. Sedberry.

⁹⁰ *Forest Register*, July, 1867.

filed a petition in the police court to that effect in the name of M. Lyle. This petition was thrown out of court on a demurrer and was appealed to the circuit court, which affirmed the police court.⁹¹

The second election, which was ordered by General Ord, was held in November, 1867, and Forest lost by 62 majority. B. B. Whittington in a long letter published in the local paper, but whose statements are not vouched for by the writer, charged that this election had been carried by fraud.⁹²

The feeling ran so high that troops were sent to Forest and camped on the west side of the courthouse square for some time.⁹³ This feeling had not subsided by February 26, 1868, when Lieut. John Tyler, acting under orders from General Gillem, ordered the "withdrawal of all military obstacles to the county site remaining at Forest." The county affairs were in a tangled condition, during the whole of 1868. Two elections had been held, one deciding for Forest, the other for Hillsboro. Each side charged fraud in the particular election in which it had lost. Part of the records were at Forest and part of them at Hillsboro. The courthouse at Hillsboro had been disposed of; the one at Forest had been badly injured by fire. Feeling was so high that a few fights grew out of the trouble. The board of police did not know what to do. Some were in favor of Forest and others of Hillsboro. They finally "submitted," as the *Forest Register* claimed, to the tearing down of the Forest courthouse, which had been rebuilt largely by the contributions of Forest citizens. Through the influence of Capt. John G. Owen, Judge Jonathan Tarbell, and ———— Johnson, General Ames ordered the records removed from Forest to Hillsboro. But when this was attempted, A. B. Smith and A. Y. Harper, counsel and leaders for Forest, stopped the removal by threats of violence.⁹⁴

A second attempt was made, in January of the next year, to destroy the building at Forest, but it was unsuccessful, and on January 15, 1870, the *Forest Register* bitterly denounced the men who were party to the deed. An unsuccessful effort was made by the court to apprehend the guilty parties. In the same month Jas. A. Glanville wrote

⁹¹ B. B. Whittington; *Forest Register*, November, 1867.

⁹² *Forest Register*, December, 1867.

⁹³ Joe Harper, S. P. Sedberry.

⁹⁴ *Forest Register*, June 1866.

an editorial in which he claimed that nine-tenths of the people of the county were not in favor of the tactics used by those opposed to Forest to force the removal elsewhere.

Forest citizens and sympathizers were intrenched in ditches around the courthouse all night, one night in January, when they had received word the day before that some of the enemies of Forest were coming that night to destroy the building. A pitched battle would have been fought and many lives lost had an effort been made that night to destroy the building. For several weeks the courthouse was watched closely, but on the night of February 2 some of the enemies of Forest saw their opportunity and attempted to burn the building, which was so badly injured that it was nearly useless.

At the January term meeting of the board of police a tax of 100 per cent on the State tax was issued for the building of the courthouse at Hillsboro. And after the attempt to burn the building at Forest the board paid \$800 to have the remains of the building removed from Forest to Hillsboro.

The *Forest Register* in the next issue after this meeting bitterly denounced the effort of the board of police to build a brick courthouse in the country eight miles from the railroad. The specifications for this building called for a small two-story brick structure. The records were finally moved to Hillsboro some time in 1871 and the new brick courthouse was completed in February, 1872.⁹⁵ The county seat remained there for less than a year after the completion of the building.

The Forest people were not satisfied and demanded another election on the location of the county seat. The board of supervisors granted this request at their April meeting, 1873. On the first week in May the election was held and Forest won by a majority of 225. Forest received 881 votes to 656 for Hillsboro. This was the last and permanent location of the county seat.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ *Forest Register*, February 1802.

⁹⁶ The vote in each precinct was as follows:

Hillsboro District (beat one)—Hillsboro: Hillsboro, 278, Forest 18. Forest: Hillsboro, 13; Forest 350.

Homewood District (beat two)—Homewood: Hillsboro, 2; Forest, 104. Sherman Hill: Hillsboro, 1; Forest, 87.

Morton District (beat three)—Morton: Hillsboro, 154; Forest, 75. Pulaski: Hillsboro, 0; Forest, 99.

Ludlow District (beat four)—Ludlow: Hillsboro, 110; Forest, 1. Beach Creek: Hillsboro, 66; Forest, 2.

Lake District (beat five)—Lake: Hillsboro, 18; Forest, 99. Damascus: Hillsboro, 14; Forest, 46.

A glance at these figures shows that as a rule the people south of the railroad voted for the location of the county seat at Forest and those north of it for Hillsboro. This was the first election on the county site question in which the negroes were allowed to vote and Capt. John G. Owen, who had formerly had so complete control over the negroes, was now shown to be losing this control, for the negroes south of the railroad voted almost to a man for Forest. Sherman Hill, Homewood and Pulaski gave almost unanimous votes for Forest. This was not a political question and party alignments played no figure.

At the next meeting of the board of police after the election, an order was issued to sell the courthouse at Hillsboro. It was sold at public auction on May 22, 1873, and was bought by H. P. Chandler and converted into a schoolhouse.

But even with all of this agitation the people were not satisfied. Writing in the December 17 issue of the *Forest Register*, a "Tax-Payer" wanted to know why the courthouse was authorized to be sold and the money not used at Forest. "Tax-Payer" claimed that the building had been sold for \$600 and that Mr. Dave Singleton, who had the contract to build the new building said there was no money. "Where is the money?" the tax payer anxiously inquired.

A wooden two-story structure, costing approximately \$5,000, was built at Forest in the center of the public square and a one story brick jail was built one block west of the square. After 1875 there was no trouble with the county site question, though the ill-feeling engendered thereby continued to exist for many years. In 1900 the courthouse burned, and many valuable court records were lost. This building was replaced by a \$20,000 brick structure.⁹⁷

V. CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS.

Happily for Scott county most of the elections were carried by the native white Democrats. The negroes did not cease, however, to make strenuous efforts to carry elections until long after all efforts were hopeless. As a rule the elections held between 1869 and 1872 were carried by the Radicals, but after the latter date they were

⁹⁷ Most of the facts about the courthouse question were obtained from Messrs. W. T. Roberson, W. A. Gatewood, and the *Forest Register*.

usually carried by the Conservatives. The earlier elections of the reconstruction period in Scott county are unique because they are the only elections in the political history of the county in which the negro element was an important factor. The negroes had but recently been granted economic and political rights and being densely ignorant of the full meaning of these rights, they presented a trying and critical problem to the men who were to control them. But the situation in Scott county was not so serious as in many other counties, because fortunately the blacks were in a minority and this minority was scattered very generally over the whole county. Beats one and two had the most trouble because many of the precincts there were generally carried by the Radicals during the reconstruction period.

Upon the return of the soldiers to their old homes few realized the critical struggle before them. The chief thoughts of most of them were to be with their loved ones and to begin the difficult task of repairing the family fortunes. When the war began there were about 900 free families in the county, and nearly 400 of them owned slaves. After the war these families had to give up the comforts of former years, and on account of losing their slaves and other property they were forced to begin the fight of life anew; consequently there was little time for the consideration of political problems.

Soon after most of the soldiers had returned home, Governor Clark appointed Gen. William L. Sharkey and Hon. William Yerger to go to Washington to find out upon what terms the State would be readmitted into the Union. President Johnson would not receive these commissioners as officials, but welcomed them as individuals. As a result of this visit President Johnson appointed General Sharkey provisional governor of the State in spite of the opposition of Congress.

This was the status of the State government when Sheriff Owen along with the sheriffs of other counties, was directed to hold an election for delegates to a State convention on August 7. In this election the qualifications for voting were the same as before the war. Of course, none of the negroes took part, and of necessity the registration laws were very loosely enforced. Very few people voted in this election. In fact, some of them did not know of it until it had passed.⁹⁸ The writer has been unable to learn who was chosen to represent Scott

⁹⁸ From W. T. Roberson.

county in this convention. It is safe to presume from the known temper of the people that they selected either a Conservative or a former Whig, who had opposed secession before the war, but had joined his neighbors in fighting under the Confederate banner.

One hundred Conservative delegates, mostly Old Line Whigs, were the representatives of the counties in this convention. In an effort to have Congress readmit Mississippi and restore the State to a normal condition they changed the constitution so as to abolish slavery. A majority of the people of Scott county, seeing the inevitable, were willing for the convention to take this step.⁹⁹ The ordinance of secession of 1861 was declared null and void, and most of the legislative acts passed during the war were ratified. United States senators and congressmen were chosen by this body, but they were all refused seats by Congress. All this was accomplished in ten days, and on August 24 the delegate from Scott county brought the news (the county had no newspaper then) of the acts of the convention to his constituents. If they did not approve, they were too busy with their home affairs to make serious objections.¹⁰⁰

October 2, 1865, the general State election was held—the first after the war. Brig.-Gen. Benjamin G. Humphreys was opposed by Judge Fisher of the high court of errors and appeals for the office of governor; the General was elected, receiving a large majority of the votes in Scott county, perhaps largely because his military career made him better known than was his opponent.¹⁰¹ A list of the county officers elected at this time has already been given. General Humphreys was inaugurated two weeks later, and promised the State a peaceful administration. He pleaded for peace between all political factions in the State. He took the position that no State could constitutionally secede from the Union and that, therefore, Mississippi was then and had always been a State in the Union from the time of its first admission.

In his efforts to secure peace and harmony, Governor Humphreys was supported by a good portion of the people of Scott county, who, while not willing to sacrifice a principle for any consideration, were anxious to bring order out of chaos. Few of the people even at that

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 286.

¹⁰¹ From D. S. Holmes.

late day foresaw the dark clouds ahead. They believed that a normal state of affairs would be reached in a few months.¹⁰² News had just been circulated through the county that the reconstruction committee of Congress had reported in June, 1866, that the people of Mississippi were not ready to accept the results of the war and therefore the State could not be readmitted until a change of sentiment could be brought about. This gave the people the first real food for political thought, and many of them were truly alarmed. Were they not ready to accept the results of the war like men? Then why could not the State be readmitted? And what kind of tactics would the North adopt? These questions were rapidly going the rounds.¹⁰³

The legislators elected October 2 met about two weeks later. None of the members of the former convention were sent to this legislature. They were all working in the interest of the State, but in their zeal they went too far in some of their acts. Roderick Moore represented Scott county in the lower house and J. B. Blackwell represented the counties of Smith and Scott in the senate. They were both fair-minded, honest men who performed their duties well.¹⁰⁴

It was the next spring (March 23, 1867) that the famous reconstruction act was passed by Congress without even consulting the wishes of President Johnson. According to this action all of the seceded states were divided into five military districts presided over by a general detached from the federal army. The fourth district was composed of Arkansas and Mississippi with headquarters at Vicksburg. Gen. E. O. C. Ord was appointed military governor of this district and entered upon the performance of his duties, March 26, 1867. He was authorized to call a convention in Mississippi to adopt or reject a constitution, which when approved by Congress would entitle the State to be readmitted. Four months later a supplemental reconstruction act was passed, which provided for a registration of voters. According to this act no man who had held office and had subsequently fought in the Confederate army was eligible to act either as a registrar or elector. This, of course, had the effect of preventing many of the best and most influential men in the county from taking part in the registration or voting. When this work was completed

¹⁰² From W. A. Gatewood and D. S. Holmes.

¹⁰³ From D. S. Holmes.

¹⁰⁴ From W. T. Roberson.

and the voters tabulated, it was seen that the negroes had nearly 14,000 more registered voters than the whites in the State. When it was known that many of the 46,636 whites would vote with the 60,167 negroes, the prospect must have been appalling to the thinking Conservatives. Although a majority of the registered voters of Scott county were whites, they having a majority in every beat except beats one and two, a good portion of the whites voted with the Republican negroes. Judge Tarbell, a thinking Republican, estimated that about one-tenth of the white population voted with the Republicans.¹⁰⁵ There were about 1,500 registered voters in the county.

Up to this time the negro had not been given an opportunity to exercise the franchise, and the probable consequences of negro enfranchisement had not appeared with full force to even the vigilant whites. They had hoped in some way to stay off the evil as long as possible, but now it was to become a reality, and very soon at that. The election on the location of the courthouse afforded the first opportunity for the negroes to vote. Most of them voted as their white neighbors desired, and the race feeling was drowned in a flood of sectional antagonism within the county over the courthouse issue. No section of the county was untouched by this feeling. As a consequence the negro question was overshadowed. The next election was held to see if a constitutional convention should be called. A large majority of the voters in the county as well as in the State were in favor of the convention.¹⁰⁶

The draft of the constitution was made by the famous "black and tan" convention, which met in Jackson, January 6, 1868, in accordance with a military order of General Ord. J. G. Owen was the delegate from Scott county to this remarkable assemblage. It is not necessary to speak of him. While he took no very active part in the proceedings, mostly because he was blind, he always sided and voted with the Radical crowd. He accepted \$10 a day with good grace, it being probably the most liberal pay he had ever received. An insight is afforded into the extravagance of this convention by the fact that Owen's mileage for one trip to Jackson to attend this body cost the State the sum of \$52, when the actual expenses could not have been

¹⁰⁵ From Tarbell's letter to Boutwell in Appendix A.

¹⁰⁶ From W. T. Roberson.

over \$5. For attending this convention as the lone delegate from the poverty-stricken county of Scott, John G. Owen received the pitiful sum of \$1.130! In return for this he voted away the people's money and took away the suffrage rights of the leading white men of the State. When the convention adjourned, about the middle of May, a vigorous campaign was begun by both political factions in a desperate effort to carry or reject the constitution.¹⁰⁷

In this campaign the most bitter feeling was aroused. The coming vote was considered a supremacy test to decide which party should rule for the next few years. The Conservatives and Radicals made extensive preparations for the contest. The *Forest Register* was filled with arguments pro and con. In case of the success of the Radicals the Conservatives saw that their hopes of gaining political supremacy for the next few years was very slight. On the other hand the Radicals saw the same doom ahead in case of defeat. On account of the clause in the proposed constitution which would have disfranchised many of the most important and influential Democrats in the county, who had held office before the war and then fought in the Confederate army or had held some official position during the war, the whites were making desperate efforts to carry the election against the adoption.

In May before the election in June, Maj.-Gen. Thomas H. Norton was sent over the State to each county to superintend the registration of the voters. On May 18 he was at Forest and for a day and a half went over the registration books with the registrars who were working in the freedmen's bureau office on the north side of the public square. In his official report of this visit Major Norton takes the opportunity to congratulate all members of the board, and especially Capt. John G. Owen, the blind Republican leader, for their unswerving devotion to the Radical cause. The other members of the board were Judge Jonathan Tarbell and William McClenahan. The Major also expressed the hope that the county would have a majority for the constitution.¹⁰⁸

Speeches were made by leaders of both factions. The Radicals began to urge that troops be sent to the county. The Conservatives knew that they would not be needed, but the agitation grew until

¹⁰⁷ Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 295, D. S. Holmes.

¹⁰⁸ *House Mis. Doc.* 53, pt. 2, 40th Cong., 3rd. sess. "Condition of Affairs in Mississippi," 114-115.

the two factions selected representatives to present their claims to the authorities. A. B. Smith was the representative of the Democrats on this mission and Henry Garrett, Austin Madison and John Walton, all negroes, presented the claims of the Radicals. The negroes succeeded in persuading General Gillem that troops were needed and he consented to send a detachment of the Jackson company.¹⁰⁹ A few days before the election George W. Corliss succeeded W. McClenahan on the board of registrars. It was the duty of these registrars to take charge of the election in the county, publishing notices of it for five days preceding, and appointing the judges and clerks. They were to be paid for their services \$6 a day. All were qualified to vote in this election who had resided at the precinct ten days preceding the election and who would present to the managers their certificates of registration, showing that they had not voted before in the same election.¹¹⁰

All saloons were closed on the election days; no firearms were to be carried; no registrar or officer could be a candidate; none of the agents of the bureau of refugees, freedmen and abandoned lands was allowed to make public speeches before the election or to electioneer or influence the voters; but they were allowed to instruct freedmen as to their rights as electors. The above were the orders of General Gillem.¹¹¹

The registrars divided the county into three parts and assigned a committee of three Republicans to each of these districts, who were to register the voters. The same was done for the election, which was to be held on three successive days, June 22, 23, and 24. Then for three days the votes at the united precinct of Forest was to be held. A voter was not required to vote at his home precinct; if he desired, he could vote at the county seat.¹¹²

A few weeks before the election representatives from the Conservative faction assembled from Scott and the other counties of the State at Jackson and adopted a platform. In this document they set forth their willingness to submit to the results of the war without a murmur. They also showed where the rights of the people of the State had been disregarded by the establishment of military despotism,

¹⁰⁹ From Robert Chisolm.

¹¹⁰ General Order No. 20 of General Gillem. See reference to public document in note 108, *supra*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹¹² Norton's Report in *Ibid*.

by the refusal to readmit the State into the Union, and by frequent attempts to overthrow the constitution. The delegates resolved to continue the political fight "until the union is restored to a constitutional basis" and they declared "that the military bills for the reconstruction of the so-called rebel States are unconstitutional and oppressive and should be resisted." They also recommended the formation of a central democratic association, with similar associations in every county and in the principal towns and cities.¹¹³

This zealous, enthusiastic delegation gave the first impetus to a unified movement against the rule of the reconstruction Radicals. Their plan was followed over the State generally. A local committee was formed at Forest with Capt. David M. Womack at its head. It had an early triumph in the overwhelming defeat of the Radicals in the vote on the constitution.¹¹⁴ Immediately there was a howl from the camp of the Radicals. They were now catching at straws. They thought that this was their last hope. One of the loudest howlers was Judge J. Tarbell. He made all kinds of baseless charges against the integrity of the people of the county among whom he had chosen to live. The following is an example of his special method of howling.

"As to my own county there was no pretence of a free expression of the voters at the election upon the ratification or rejection of the constitution. There was from the beginning a studied disregard of the merits of the issue, as of truth, and a feeling of terror created which few could resist. Merchants granted and refused favors according to political opinions; goods were refused for cash, even because proposed buyers were Republicans; threats that Republican freedmen should have no employment, and should be forced to starve, were universal; and promises of provisions and employment to those voting the Democratic ticket were universally extensive; certificates were sometimes given to freedmen for voting the Democratic ticket, commending them to Democrats for protection and employment; there were threats of warning and violence for voting Republican; prominent citizens prominently declared to crowds of freedmen that for voting Republican the whites would be their enemies forever; numbers of whites and blacks voted through fear, against their wishes, and not a few of both went away to weep, literally, bitter tears for the humiliation; social and business ostracism and violence were threatened the whites; to vote the Republican ticket was urged as a lasting disgrace to their innocent families; Democratic committees were appointed professedly as challengers, but in fact, these committees devoted to watching to future persecution those who voted Republican. . . . Republicans are held to be the enemies of the country and the people, and on this theory, if not restrained by Federal authority, every Republican would be driven out. . . . On the

¹¹³ "Platform Democratic White Men's Party of Mississippi," furnished by W. N. Haynes, Macon, Miss.

¹¹⁴ From W. T. Roberson.

part of the freedmen there was no threat, fraud, annoyance, persecution or oppression to which they were not subjected. That the constitution was rejected through fraud, threats, intimidations, and violence, or the fear of violence induced by those opposed, there is no sort of doubt.¹¹⁵

That there is some truth in the above statements none of the men who lived at that time will deny. But that it grossly misrepresents conditions is equally true. The Democrats were determined to carry the election, and they succeeded. That they hated all Republicans, and especially Northern whites in the county, it is not necessary to deny. Of course the whites were more disposed to assist a negro, who was a political friend, than a sullen, political enemy of the same race.¹¹⁶

The next election was held in the fall of 1869. No county officers were elected at that time, only the State and district officers being chosen. Several parties, among them being the Constitutional Union, the Democratic White Men's Party, and the National Union Republican Party were beginning their work at that time. These parties were for the most part merely branches of the older Republican and Democratic parties. One of them, the Conservative, or the National Union Republican party, nominated Judge Louis Dent for governor. The regular Republican party nominated J. L. Alcorn for the same office. For the first time in the history of the county and State the regular Democratic party did not have nominees in the field. The Republicans held their first general meeting for this election at Hillsboro on January 16, 1869. The following is a report of their meeting:

"At a meeting of the Republicans of Scott county, Mississippi, at Hillsboro, in said county, convened on the 16th day of January, 1869, to take into consideration the question of reconstruction, Capt. John G. Owen was called to the chair, and Wm. McClenahan, Esq., was appointed secretary. A full and free interchange of views was had, and reports were made by Republicans from various parts of the county, showing that there is not in the county a Republican opposed to ratification, nor one who has confidence in the present commanding general of this military district.

"In accordance with the unanimous sentiment of the party in this county the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"1. That the Republicans of Scott County, Mississippi, are without exception in favor of the reconstruction of the state upon the basis of loyalty, by the direction of Congress, limiting and prescribing this condition beyond all possible emergencies and contingencies.

"2. That of all the modes suggested we prefer ratification, *WITH THE TEST OATH PERMANENTLY INCORPORATED IN THE* constitution by Congress for all officers of the State, from the highest to the lowest, assured that this mode will alone secure reconstruction on a loyal basis.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix A.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix A for Tarbell's words in full.

"3. That opposition to ratification, if not intentionally in the interest of the rebel democracy, can operate only to their advantage, while successful opposition will, doubtless, be the sacrifice of loyalty and loyal men, and of the principles upon which the prosperity of the state depends.

"4. That the election upon the adoption or rejection of the constitution in June, 1868, in this county was the mere echo of terrorism; there was no pretence of a free or fair expression of the people; even the soldiers for our protection publicly expressed their desire to shoot 'radicals and Niggers;' the result was a wicked, damnable fraud on the freedom of elections, which, we believe, was known to General Gillem.

"5. That the officers of this meeting report its proceedings, including those resolutions, officially to the chairman of the Republican State executive committee at Washington, D. C.

"On motion the meeting adjourned, subject to the call of the party committee. John G. Owen, Chairman, William McClenachan, Secretary."¹¹⁷

This is a fair sample of the policy of the Republican party organization in the county. At that time the party was stronger than it ever had been before, or was ever to be again. It was daily working to win the next election. On May 1 was held what was termed by the local paper as a "Bogus Republican meeting at Hillsboro attended by odious political adventurers." Speeches were made by Judge Tarbell and Capt. J. G. Owen, encouraging the freedmen to stand by the Radicals.

Soon afterwards Editor Glanville in a very sensational issue of the local paper declared that he had the proof that the Radicals were to take the election by all odds. From the frequent meetings of the loyal leagues and of the Republican leaders the Democrats learned early that the Radicals were to take affairs into their own hands. Probate Judge J. Tarbell and J. G. Owen were the political mentors of the black race; both were registrars of the county and were thus in a position to manage as they pleased. The negroes looked to them before taking any political step. When a negro was approached by a Democrat to solicit his vote, the negro would repair as soon as possible to "The Jedge" or "Capt'n Owens" to receive his orders. The fight was on in earnest that summer. The whites had succeeded in rejecting the constitution in the county by a large majority, but this first political battle after the war served to arouse the carpetbaggers, scalawags and their black followers and to awaken the Conservatives over the county to a full realization of the struggle ahead.

Tarbell and his political cohorts were raising all kinds of protests over the way they had been treated. They appealed upon their

¹¹⁷ House Mis. Doc. 53, pt. 2, 40th Cong., 3d sess., 268-269.

hopes of heaven and earth that "loyal juries, loyal officers, and loyal courts" be given them so that their "complaints," as they innocently called them, might be heard.¹¹⁸ By "loyal" was meant a full-fledged political voter who would support a Republican for office against all odds, reserving nothing for his own will and conscience.

The interest in the political battle of 1868 had scarcely died when it was merged in the stronger one of the next year. That the battle would be continued no one would deny. The issue was not to be men; it was to be the ratification of the proposed constitution. Tarbell stated that it was practically the unanimous opinion of the Republicans of Scott county that they should "most earnestly appeal, appeal with outstretched arms to Congress for this measure of justice and security" (ratification). It was stated that this was the only hope of the loyal citizens of Mississippi.¹¹⁹ The Democrats were referred to as anarchists in letters to prominent Northern politicians. To the Radicals the test oath was the most important feature of the proposed constitution, for, if it were incorporated, the conservatives would be politically harmless.

The next plan of the Radicals at that time (1869) was stated thus by their leader:¹²⁰ "The entire official patronage of the State and of the Federal government therein should be in the hands of loyal men." The fairness of General Gillem for all parties, while by no means even just to the Democrats, had won the enmity of the men in his own party, at least in Scott county, who asked for his removal and the reëstablishment of the freedmen's bureau with a "reliable" agent. Corliss must not have been radical enough for these extremists, like Tarbell.

The Radicals were playing for time, in January at least, as is shown by their appeal to those in authority for from one to two years before another election in order to "educate both blacks and whites." They called it "giving" the Republicans experience. Perhaps Tarbell, the leader, who used these words, feared that it was best for the Radicals then in office to get as much *experience* as possible before the people turned them out of office.

Tarbell, the spokesman, put it in these words, "Its defeat (the proposed constitution) will be the hopeless prostration of the party and

¹¹⁸ See Tarbell's letter to Boutwell in Appendix A.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

the cause, and the triumph of Democrats, rebels and traitors An election in any reasonable time, which any other plan than ratification presupposes would result in our signal defeat. We should be beaten today, or until freedmen and loyal whites are educated and taught by personal independence." And again the same leader said, "It is a fact, as alarming as it is serious, that we are losing control of the colored race in large numbers." That last statement, while partly true, was made more to arouse his political henchmen to active work than anything else. The same writer says that, "there are those disposed to join us, but they dare not."

On the other hand the Democrats and all Conservatives were elated over the very successful rejection of that constitution, which saved many of the Democratic leaders from disfranchisement. But scarcely had the first draft of the proposed constitution been rejected when a general agitation grew rapidly for another vote on the constitution, and the discussions over the State pro and con were general.

The few white Republicans were of the very Radical crowd. This was due to the doctrines instilled by that prince of radicalism, Tarbell. Speaking for them, he said that he was against universal amnesty. This was contrary to the prevalent Republican doctrine as outlined in their platform that same summer. He used the following remarkable language:

"The McClellan policy is no more appropriate now than in 1862. The rebellion was suppressed by superior numbers and hard blows and the obstacle to reconstruction and to the rights of the loyal inhabitants of Mississippi will have to be overcome, if at all, in the same way."¹²¹

The following from that South-hating Radical, Tarbell, needs no refutation here:

"The South could be plunged into war at a moment's notice, upon the signal of the old leaders at any time It was the subject of daily talk and desire. War was preposterous, of course; but the leaders do the thinking for the people, and the tooting of their horn would have caused a general rising more unanimously than before."

This is an example of carpetbag misrepresentation of the people of the South before the second election on the constitution. The writer does not like to defile these pages with more radicalism like the above,

¹²¹ Ibid.

but the true nature of the carpetbaggers must be presented. A few more sentences from the pen of Tarbell will suffice.¹²²

He declared that any sort of justice to the native whites would be the ruin of the Republican cause; for

"The extension to Mississippi of the so-called magnanimity and liberal measures would restore rebels and traitors to power in the State and Jeff Davis and his co-traitors to their old seats in the United States Senate.

"Defeat of ratification, a prospective election, with universal amnesty and universal suffrage, will be practically to us an 'unconditional surrender to our oppressors.'

"Espionage upon poor whites and freedmen and their subjugation to the dominant class, are as complete as in the days of slavery, and will remain so beyond the hope of alleviation, save through the active, positive, protecting character of republican measures."

This is the manner in which this carpetbagger talked to his Northern friends. How do you suppose he and his colleagues talked to the negroes a few weeks before the election?

About one month after the rejection of the first draft of the constitution, a convention of the Conservatives appealed to the people of Mississippi to reject certain features of the proposed constitution, mainly the test oath, which was subversive of the rights of free men. M. D. Graham, a prosperous merchant and leading citizen of Forest, and Col. A. Y. Harper, a prominent attorney of the county and former lieutenant-colonel in the Confederate army, represented the county in this convention. After a short session, the delegates were practically unanimous in voting to ask the people to reject the objectionable features of the proposed constitution.

In the meantime the political campaign for the election of State and district officers began to grow in interest. In July a well attended meeting of the Democrats was held at Forest to endorse Judge Dent for governor. James A. Glanville, editor of the *Forest Register* and a leading attorney at the county seat, was chairman of the meeting, and J. A. Hendon, Jr., another prominent attorney, was secretary. Col. A. Y. Harper addressed the meeting and endorsed in eloquent terms Judge Dent for the office of governor and urged each man present to work for the common cause of democracy.¹²³ Big barbecues were held almost each week in various sections of the county. The largest was perhaps the one held at Forest on November 3, at a grand

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ *Forest Register*, July, 1869.

rally held only a few days before the election. Public speeches were made by Capt. T. J. Hardy, Conservative candidate for the senate, Judge Ed. Currie, Dr. W. L. Lowrey, a prominent citizen of the county, and A. B. Smith, one of the most zealous workers in the fight against negro rule. "We must win" was the universal cry of both factions who attended the meeting.¹²⁴

Perhaps the most representative negro barbecue of this campaign was held at Hillsboro in September.¹²⁵ The leading local negroes and an imported one by the name of Harris addressed the black crowd assembled that day. As there is no record that Tarbell and Owen were present, it is safe to assume that they were sick.

The most important Radical "Pow Wow," as it was tersely called at the time, was held in September at Forest. George C. McGee, a despicable character, who was candidate for Congress from the fourth district, made an extremely Radical speech, characterized as "most inflammatory" by the local paper. Jas. L. Alcorn also spoke on this occasion to his sea of negro supporters and made a vain attempt to justify Radical rule. When asked to divide time with Dr. W. L. Lowrey he flatly refused.

The next month a similar "Pow Wow" was held at Hillsboro. On this occasion the Conservatives secured the consent of the Radicals for a joint debate. A. B. Smith was selected by the Democrats and Gen. George C. McGee by the Radicals. A great crowd from several counties heard this debate, which greatly intensified the political feeling.

During the earlier days of the campaign there were two main issues before the people; the adoption or rejection of the constitution; the second in regard to the election of officers. Contrary to the expectation of many people, the first of these issues did not sharply divide the races. There were so many unjust clauses in the constitution, in the opinion of both races, that the opposition combined regardless of color and out of a total of little more than 1,100 votes gave 600 majority against the constitution. The vote was nearly unanimous against Article VII; the vote against some other sections may be found in the *Forest Register* of that date.

But when the votes on the major and second issue were counted it was seen that the Radicals had carried the county by a small majority,

¹²⁴ Ibid., November, 1869.

¹²⁵ Ibid., September, 1869.

the relative strength being shown by the vote for governor which was: Alcorn, 574; Dent, 535. Powers got 448 for the office of secretary of state while Jeffords received 510. The total vote in the county was: Hillsboro (beat one), 439; Homewood (beat two), 211; Morton (beat three), 235; Lake (beat four), 178; Ludlow (beat five), 87. The population in these beats at this time was: (one), 2,514; (two), 1,479; (three), 1,446; (four), 777; (five) 1,631; total, 7,847. This made about an average of one vote for every seven of the population in the county.

Congressman, senators and representatives were also elected at this time. The famous George C. McGee, the Republican candidate for Congress from the fourth district was opposed by Archie C. Fiske, the nominee of the National Union Republican party. McGee received a majority of 48 in Scott county, the vote being 574 to 526. John G. Owen was the Republican nominee for representative, and was opposed by Ludovic R. Moore. Owen carried the county by a vote of 648 to 433, receiving a majority of 215. This was the largest majority any regular Republican ever received in the county. Scott county was in the eleventh senatorial district, which included the counties of Newton, Smith and Scott. Capt. T. J. Hardy, of Smith county, was opposed by John M. Duncan, of Scott county, the Republican nominee. Duncan carried the county by a vote of 538 to 515, but lost the other counties and the election.¹²⁶

Thus ended the campaign and election of 1869. All officers in the county were then Republican either by appointment or by election. Radicalism was reigning supreme.

The next year, so far as politics was concerned, was not so important. It became the duty of Governor Alcorn early in the year to appoint all county officers. The following is a list of his appointees: sheriff, John R. Owen; circuit and chancery clerk, C. G. Gilmer; treasurer, Wm. McClenachan; assessor, M. P. Holman; coroner, Turner Bobbitt; board of police (beat one), J. J. Ritch; (two), Lewis Brown; (three), T. W. McCaul; (four), J. M. Duncan; (five), Jonathan Summers. The board of registrars appointed at the same time had the following membership: J. H. Owen, William Chambers and John T. Hutto.

In April of that year (1870) the editor of the local paper offered in his paper to bet \$100 to \$50 that no member of the board of police

¹²⁶ Statistics in State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.

could calculate percentage and another \$100 to \$50 that not one of them could get the vote of either race in an election.

Political strife grew more bitter every week during the year. An account of some of the frequent assaults in Scott county may be found elsewhere in this paper. Cutting affrays and general assaults occurred in various parts of the county. Negroes were carrying guns, and the *Forest Register* (September 27, 1870), reported much promiscuous shooting in the towns at night. In that same issue the political situation of the county was painted very blue. Political differences were growing into feuds; especially was this true of beat two, near Sherman Hill, where race conflicts of serious nature were narrowly averted more than once. In another issue of the local papers, for October, is an account of the trouble the freedmen were giving the people. The loyal leagues were holding frequent meetings, some secret, at which incendiary talks were made by influential whites and blacks. By September matters had grown to such an extent that a militia company of the younger Conservatives was organized. Wiley Jones was made captain, and Joe A. Hornes, H. H. Halbert and J. M. Webster were chosen lieutenants. In the same month (September) another militia company was organized near High Hill in beat two with E. W. Carr, captain, and W. A. Youngblood, E. A. Gilbert, and William Griffin, lieutenants.

In September the Democratic White Men's party held its convention and adopted a platform, a copy of which will be found elsewhere.¹²⁷ Plans were made for a systematic campaign during the coming summer; political conditions were fully discussed and each delegate to the convention seemed determined to carry the next election for his party at all hazards.

Thus passed out the year 1870. The whites were arrayed against the blacks, and the whites of one part of the county against those of other sections on account of the location of the county seat. There were frequent affrays, caused by numerous troubles—political, social, personal and sectional—a losing fight for economic recuperation.

When the following year was ushered in there came an increased interest in politics. Candidates from both factions began to appear in the field early. James A. Glanville, a loyal Democrat, in writing

¹²⁷ See Appendix B.

in the local paper of logical candidates for the legislature from the Democratic ranks (April, 1871), suggested the following staunch Democrats, any of whom, he claimed, would be a credit to the county and the party: J. M. Lyle, William Ledbetter, of Hillsboro; John Smith and Dr. Denson, of Ludlow; Dr. Lack, Jesse Madden and George Harper, of Harperville; Col. C. W. Taylor, Dr. W. L. Lowrey, and Capt. T. F. Pettus of Morton; William Hoskins of Lake; Col. T. B. Graham, M. D. Graham, A. B. Smith, J. A. Hendon, Jr., and J. S. Halbert, of Forest; and J. B. Blackwell, W. R. Butler and Wiley Jones, living south of the railroad. This list includes many of the men who were most zealous in the election that soon followed. Singular as it may seem, none of them was nominated for this office, the honor going to Capt. John Gaddis of Morton.

Among the Republicans prominently mentioned as suitable candidates for representative were: John Quarles, Henry Briscoe and Capt. John G. Owen. One of these was a negro. The last named was the candidate finally nominated.

On September 2, Capt. James A. Glanville attacked the board of registrars, the sheriff, the chancery clerk and the president of the board of police, for dereliction of duty. The nature of the alleged dereliction is not fully set forth in the county paper. It is not thought that anything definite was done with the charges, as none of the men were ever tried.¹²⁸ But these charges greatly intensified factional feeling.

In Scott county Democratic convention, held during the last days of July, the following men were nominated for the various offices:¹²⁹ Representative, John Gaddis, over W. S. Hoskins; sheriff, John R. Owen over James Tibbs, Jesse Madden, and W. S. Ledbetter; circuit and chancery clerk, J. B. Blackwell over J. J. Crane, Jesse Clover, and Rawl Talbert; treasurer, J. R. Weaver over R. R. Chambers, Moses H. Lack, S. B. Park and Joe E. Holifield; tax assessor, C. N. Sigrest over J. C. Parker, Henry Thornton; surveyor, A. M. Gresham over James A. Hanna; coroner, H. H. Moore, and R. P. Chambers for ranger. In this convention H. H. Moore presided as chairman of the meeting; Wm. Ledbetter was president of the convention, William H. Denson and A. M. Champion, vice-presidents, and Horace Handy

¹²⁸ *Forest Register*, September 2, 1871; W. T. Roberson.

¹²⁹ *Forest Register*, August, 1871.

and John T. Hunter, secretaries. There were fifty official delegates present, ten from each beat.

In the Radical convention held about the same time the following were nominated: J. G. Owen, representative; C. G. Gilmer, circuit and chancery clerk; William McClenachan, treasurer; — Skinner, assessor; Holman, surveyor; Turner Bobbitt, coroner.

Besides the two factions there were several independent candidates. For district attorney Major Walker was a candidate on the Independent ticket. On the same ticket were Manning, a candidate for circuit and chancery clerk; George S. Pickel, a candidate for representative; and Norton, a candidate for ranger. None of these Independent candidates got a very respectable vote, except Major Walker, but even he was defeated by Capt. T. H. Woods, the Democratic candidate from Meridian, by about 253 majority.

This election was the one in which the Conservatives regained political control. They won most of the offices by good majorities. Only four boxes were carried by the Radicals. John G. Owen, the leader of the blacks, was defeated by Dr. John Gaddis by the small majority of 77. There seems to have been a fusion of factions for the office of sheriff. John R. Owen, son of John G. Owen, had formerly been appointed sheriff of the county by the Republican authorities. In this election, however, he accepted the Conservative nomination and at the same time held his popularity with the Radicals, for they put no man in the field against him. There was not even an Independent candidate against him.

J. B. Blackwell carried every beat in the county over the Republican Gilmer, the candidate for a second term, except beat one, which he lost by a vote of 160 to 308. This was the beat in which Forest and Hillsboro were located. All of the minor county officers were elected by the Democrats.

But in some of the beats the vote was different. In beat one, J. J. Ritch, a Republican, was elected over the Democratic candidate, J. A. Hendon, for member of the board of police by a small majority. Three others, W. A. Lack, Austin Madison (a negro preacher), and William Rivers were elected justices of the peace from the same beat.

In beat two, Sam West, the negro Republican candidate for member of the board of police, was opposed by W. A. Gatewood, who defeated him by a vote of 129 to 88. In beat five, D. S. Holmes, a Democrat,

was elected without opposition, probably because he had been opposed to secession before the war. The other beats elected the entire Democratic ticket.¹³⁰

Thus came and went the election that regained supremacy to the Democratic whites. Bells were tolled, and an old, rusty cannon was pulled out at Forest to fire a few salutes to commemorate the victory. The tidings quickly went to the farthest corners of the county. The minds of many of the Conservatives were at last at ease. But, even with such a great victory for the Democrats, it was soon seen that the fight had by no means been given up by the Radicals. The Republicans, especially the negroes, were determined to rule, and were making strenuous efforts to that end.

It seems a peculiar premonition of the downfall of the carpetbaggers that Tarbell, a leading mentor for the Republicans of Scott county and one of the leading carpetbaggers of the State, was arrested in Jackson in September before the election to account for some of his crooked dealing.¹³¹ The nature of the charge against him will be found elsewhere. If he were ever tried, the writer has never been able to learn of it. It is believed strongly by many of those who lived at that time that his case never came to trial.¹³²

The next year was the time for the election of president, and both parties began early to prepare for the ordeal ahead. The first week in January, 1872, saw a Democratic meeting at Forest to prepare for the campaign. David M. Womack, chairman of the Democratic executive committee of the county, called a meeting to discuss plans. He was the presiding officer of this meeting and T. B. Johnson was secretary. The officials from the different beats were: (one), M. Lyle, Dr. S. Davis; (two), W. A. Gatewood, H. H. Halbert; (three), Horace Handy, W. T. Roberson; (four), J. C. Denson, J. R. J. Kaheau; (five), E. J. Madden, J. R. Weaver. At this meeting a definite outline of the policy to be pursued was discussed. The members were unquestionably in favor of the election of Horace Greeley for president, and a firm belief was expressed that every precinct in the county would be carried by him.¹³³

¹³⁰ Practically all of the facts here presented about elections were obtained from the files of the *Forest Register*.

¹³¹ *The Clarion* (Jackson), September, 1870.

¹³² W. T. Roberson, R. C. Cooper and D. S. Holmes.

¹³³ *Forest Register*, June, 1872, and W. T. Roberson.

In the meantime the Republicans held their convention and expressed equal confidence in General Grant and an equal determination to carry the county for him.

X. O. Porter, J. H. Owen and T. S. Stirling, part of which membership was Republican, had been appointed as registrars of the county and began their work in July. There is no evidence that these men did not do their duty. When their work was completed, it was seen that there were in the county between 1,200 and 1,300 registered voters out of a total population of little more than 8,000. Many persons of both races did not register.¹³⁴

In the State convention of the Democratic party, which met at Jackson on June 26, David M. Womack of Forest was elected an alternate delegate to the national Democratic convention, which met in Baltimore.

In the national Democratic party, one wing known as the liberals met in Cincinnati. Then in August there was a union of the liberal and Democratic-Republican wings at Baltimore. It was to this latter convention that Captain Womack was an alternate delegate.

The first of the year 1870 saw few signs in the Democratic ranks other than those of union. But in August there was a growing division of the forces. The *Forest Register* in the issue of August 28 charged that north Scott had disgraced and disrupted itself. Of course, this was only the view of those living in south Scott and it is presumed that the cause of the disruption was the agitation on the county site location question.

There were few, if any, political speeches in the county preceding the election; there were no formal ones on the presidential election. Oldham, the Democratic candidate, and Niles, the Radical candidate for Congress, made a few speeches in their own behalf in the county. Greeley and Grant were the Democratic and Republican nominees for the presidency, and in the election of November 6, Greeley carried the county by a vote of 670 to 460, and Oldham even outran Greeley, getting 682 votes. Of the ten precincts in the county only the ones of Hillsboro, Homewood and Beach Creek gave decided majorities for Grant. Many of the other boxes were about even. In the issue of the *Ku Klux Klan* of November 27 Dr. S. Davis, the

¹³⁴ *Forest Register*, September, 1872.

editor, expressed the opinion of a vast majority of the people of the county when he claimed that this was the death knell of the negro rule in the county. It was indeed time; for had not the Radicals been defeated in two elections?

The next year (1873) was a regular election year and no occasion was given for political interest to subside. While the Democrats had won two elections and had succeeded in ridding the county of most of the carpetbaggers, the leaders realized full well that the struggle was not ended and they began to make preparations to carry the next election.

In May there was a meeting of the White Men's party, a new organization, which was merely a branch of the regular Democratic party. Another faction of the same party, the Anti-Radical, met at Forest, in July. J. L. Gresham was the chairman of this latter convention. Dr. Park and David M. Womack were chosen delegates to the state convention and Green B. Huddleston and N. E. Burnham, alternates.¹³⁵

Beat conventions were held about two weeks before this county convention. J. D. Jones presided over the convention in beat three and N. T. Liles, was secretary. T. C. Tibbs was the delegate to the State convention and J. S. Halbert delegate to the senatorial convention. S. J. Denson presided over the convention at Ludlow for beat four. J. L. Smith and R. M. Roberts were chosen delegates to the State and senatorial conventions, respectively. Judge Finley was chairman of the convention in beat five. G. F. Lowrey was chosen secretary and delegate to the State convention, and E. J. Madden and W. M. Thornton were elected delegates to the senatorial convention. All of the beat conventions voted in favor of a primary election to nominate their Democratic candidates as preferable to the convention.

When this news reached Capt. D. M. Womack, of the executive committee, he declared promptly that a primary election should be held on October 22, and appointed managers and clerks of the precincts. But the candidates of neither party waited until this late time to begin their canvass. The candidates for the legislature spoke at Forest on August 20 and at other precincts on dates in the same month.

¹³⁵ *Forest Register*, May, 1873.

The Democratic executive committee, consisting of Captain Womack at its head, T. P. Marion, Joe Tibbs, D. K. Patterson, Bryant Harrell, T. J. Denson, J. L. Gresham, and J. L. Smith, met on August 13, and authorized the police beats to decide how the nominations should be made. We have already indicated their action. The following points were designated as the various centers of the beats: one, Hillsboro; two, High Hill; three, Morton; four, Ludlow; five, Salem Church.

The Republicans were equally vigilant in their own interest. The county Republican convention was held on September 1, 1873, and delegates to the state and senatorial conventions were selected. County candidates for the various offices were also nominated.

The campaign then came in earnest. About the middle of October George E. Harris, T. W. Cardoza, a negro, Joe Bennett and H. W. Barry, all Republican candidates for State offices, spoke at Forest at a very quiet meeting. Later in the same week Governor J. L. Alcorn spoke at an equally quiet meeting attended only by Republicans.

A few months before this, State politics had begun to grow more than usually interesting. A political enmity had grown up between Alcorn and Ames, both United States senators from Mississippi, and, as if to justify their quarrel, they determined to become candidates for governor in order to give the people of the State an opportunity to express their will at the polls. This the people did in no uncertain terms. While Ames was overwhelmingly elected in the State, he lost even more overwhelmingly in Scott county. The vote for these two men was a true test of carpetbag influence in the county. Both men were Republicans and there was no regular Democrat in the field. The Democrats gave a very feeble support to Alcorn, aided by the almost entire native Republican element, while the negroes gave an equally solid support to Senator Ames. In the county Alcorn received 788 votes to 355 for Ames. Ames carried only one precinct, that of Forest, and that by the small vote of 112 to 78. He lost the others by large majorities.

For district attorney, Capt. T. H. Woods, of Meridian, was elected without opposition. T. B. Graham, a rising young lawyer, was also elected without opposition to the legislature. John R. Owen was again nominated by the Democrats for sheriff and was opposed for the first time by a Republican. Owen had up to this time succeeded

in holding the confidence of the Republicans; but he lost this for some reason and they nominated W. Spencer against him. Only the very radical Republicans supported Spencer, and Owen was therefore elected by a huge majority, receiving the vote of 862 to 222. He carried every box in the county, four of them unanimously. Practically all the remaining officers were reelected. Not one Republican secured a county office. The revolution had been almost complete. The most interesting race of this election was that of J. G. Crecelius, a venerable and influential Baptist minister, who was the Democratic nominee for legislator, and was opposed by Henry Garrett and Austin Madison, two negroes of Forest. The minister won easily; Garrett carried Forest over both opponents by a good majority but lost elsewhere. The supervisors elected at this time were: one, Dr. S. Davis, over J. J. Ritch, William Rivers and J. Summers; two, W. A. Gatewood over Bob Chisolm, a negro; three, H. H. Halbert over Patterson; five, J. Wolverton. For the first time since 1867 beat one gave the Democrats a majority, due largely to the split in the ranks of the Radicals in that beat.

Cries of fraud immediately went up from the defeated party and its candidates. Open charges of corruption, stuffed ballots and illegal elections were made. Certain peculiar ballots were hawked about the streets of Forest and Morton.¹³⁶ Several threatened to contest the election; but soon the charges, false in part, ceased to be made and there was political quietude.

The next year was very quiet politically—the quietest of all the reconstruction years. No State or county election was held. Only congressmen were to be elected and this had essentially ceased to be a material factor in the interest of the people. The year recorded a few lynchings, assaults and cutting scrapes, but perhaps few more than the other years had recorded. Political interest was slowly dying out, as was shown by the fact that the county paper devoted very much less space than usual to political discussions. Out of a voting population of 1,500 there were 539 delinquents, mostly negroes. At that time delinquent taxpayers, unless otherwise disqualified, were entitled to vote. An agitation took firm hold in February, 1874, to prohibit these delinquents from voting. But it was not done for some time.

¹³⁶ *Forest Register*, November, 1873.

The year passed politically with nothing worth noting; a few factional feuds cropped out occasionally, but nothing serious. The courthouse had been definitely located at Forest, but the feeling between the supporters of Forest and Hillsboro had not died out. One of the few things worth noting was a sensational charge which the editor of the local paper made that "something was rotten in Denmark." It was claimed by a few men that some of the so-called Conservatives were supporting the Radicals in some of their tricks, hence they warned the Democrats to be on the lookout. If this charge were based on fact, nothing more was ever heard of it. More attention was paid to vocational pursuits by the citizens of the county this year, and very much less to politics.

Governor Ames was inaugurated in January and made the laughable—were it not so serious—promise of an economical government. The representative of Scott county in the legislature, Dr. J. Gaddis, found himself in a legislative body which included sixty-four negroes, some of whom could only sign their pay rolls by means of signs and marks, and twenty-five carpetbaggers. A large part of the remainder were native Republicans. Both branches of the legislature were presided over by negroes; Gaddis, therefore, was in a hopeless minority in that body. He was, of course, in no way responsible for the extravagance and wastefulness which characterized the average member. This was the condition of State politics. Was not Scott county fortunate to have a full list of Democratic men holding her offices?

It was early realized, however, in Scott county that the next year was to be a great test. The county had succeeded in overthrowing the radical power three times, but they were not sure of the next election. Again they were being oppressed by the heavy taxation and other forms of distress, on account of the general condition of state politics. There was alarm everywhere.

Accordingly, a convention of taxpayers was held at Jackson, early in January, 1875, attended by property owners over the entire state, without regard to party affiliation. It is thought that Scott county had several representatives in this body.¹³⁷ They appealed for more economy in the running of the government. An attempt was made to organize a county taxpayers' convention¹³⁸ with its center at Forest, but the plan failed.

¹³⁷ From W. T. Roberson.

¹³⁸ *Forest Register*, February, 1875.

Perhaps realizing that the year was to be a supreme one, politically, Governor Ames made an unsuccessful attempt to secure the assistance of United States troops. He then encouraged the organization of negro military companies over the State. The feeling in Scott county against the blacks and their minority had the healthy effect of discouraging any effort of the colored race to organize such companies. J. Z. George succeeded in influencing the governor to disband the militia and nothing further was heard from this source of trouble.¹³⁹

All offices from governor to justice of the peace were to be filled in the election in November, 1875. Candidates began to announce much earlier than usual, and the old political enthusiasm of 1871 began to come back strongly. Nominations on the Democratic ticket were eagerly sought, as all thought the election assured. But the negro had by no means ceased to be a factor in politics, for many of them, seeing no hope in the Republican ranks now, asked to enter the Democratic fold. As long as the negroes voted against the whites they were looked on with suspicion, if not distrust. Of two negroes, equal in ability, one Conservative, the other Radical, it goes without saying that a white Democrat would support and assist the black Democrat before he would one of opposite political faith.

The negroes saw that there was no hope to secure office either for themselves or their friends. These conditions drew a large number of negroes into the Democratic fold. Moreover, the whites began to divide, and it was soon realized that it was possible for this negro element to control the election. These facts were not fully known to the leaders of either faction before the close of the campaign.

Political affairs moved along smoothly enough until just before the county Democratic primary election in August. Green B. Huddleston, representing a committee of which he was chairman, and Wyatt Wooten, and J. A. Glanville, who had been appointed by the board of supervisors to examine the various officers of the county and ascertain, if possible, the political status of the county, charged John R. Owen, the sheriff, with being dishonest, and showed by figures that there had been a deficit in every year from 1867 to 1875 of from \$1000 to \$2300. This had the sensational effect of arousing both parties. It will be remembered that John R. Owen was appointed formerly

¹³⁹ Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 318.

by the Republican authorities to this office and had later been elected to the place by the Democrats. While inexplicably popular, many did not admire him and even distrusted him before the charge. Suspicion now grew into conviction in many parts of the county.¹⁴⁰

Only a few weeks before this Capt. David M. Womack ordered that, as it was the undoubted opinion of the people of the county that a primary election would best express the opinion of the voters, such a primary election should be held August 16. In behalf of his committee, whose membership was practically the same as it had been in 1873, he named the managers and clerks of the election precincts for the said primary election. The election was held only two weeks after Huddleston made his sensational charges. Whether or not they are true, the writer is not able to say. He has never found any corroborative evidence to sustain the charges.

Before the Democratic primaries were held a mass meeting, attended by men from various parts of the county, assembled at Forest and among other things declared that only white Democrats should be allowed to vote in the primary election. Despite these resolutions many negroes not only voted but were urgently requested to do so by many of the whites who thus, possibly, hoped to keep them away from the Republicans. There was not then a carpetbagger in the county; they had all sought richer political fields.

Frequent mass meetings were held by both races, some of them secret, at Hillsboro and Forest and at times in other parts of the county. Whenever possible, some whites always attended the meetings of the negroes, who expressed much dissatisfaction on this account. They claimed they were hampered in their speech and actions by these visiting whites. Certainly it was true. At one of the big white meetings at Hillsboro, an exceedingly fiery speech was delivered by Otho R. Singleton, one of the most influential men in the district.

The campaign—essentially within the ranks of the Democratic party—continued in this way until August 22, when the Democratic primary was held. Maj. T. H. Woods was unopposed for district attorney, polling almost the entire strength of the county's 1,300 votes, for this his third term. There were four candidates for representative as follows: J. G. Crecelius, the Baptist minister of whom

¹⁴⁰ From W. T. Roberson and D. S. Holmes.

we have spoken; H. C. McCabe, a young lawyer of Forest, who later removed to Vicksburg; Dr. W. L. Lowrey, a prominent physician of Morton, and Green B. Huddleston, who had just begun his legal career at Forest. All of them were men of sterling character and well fitted for the position. Huddleston carried all of the larger precincts and was nominated by the small plurality of 11 votes over his nearest opponent, Lowrey.

The redoubtable John R. Owen, of Hillsboro, about whom so much has been said, again attempted to secure the Democratic nomination, and was opposed by R. T. M. Simmons, a very young man who had moved to the county in 1871 and had been elected constable of his beat in 1873. Both men were popular, and the race was one of the most interesting of the campaign. Practically the entire Democratic vote of the county was polled for this office. Simmons won by a majority of 79. J. B. Blackwell, the popular chancery and circuit clerk, was a candidate for renomination and was opposed by J. L. Gresham, of Forest. Blackwell's honest and conscientious discharge of his duties won him the renomination over his less known opponent. In the list of these Democratic candidates may be seen the names of some men who were to make in later years the name of Scott county brighter, and whose reputation was to extend considerably beyond her borders.

But some of the Democrats were not satisfied with this primary election. Dr. W. L. Lowrey charged that there was fraud and that he had been given a crooked deal. This statement is not vouched for by the writer, who learns of no other similar charge, nor finds any proof of this one. He threatened to contest the election, but finally decided otherwise.

The Republicans met in their county convention about the same time that the primary election of the Democrats was being held. Delegates were in attendance from every beat. The negroes were in almost absolute control of this convention. For the first time a negro presided and there was a negro secretary.¹⁴¹

Governor Ames appointed the following registrars for the county: Richard Halbert, James H. Owen and J. P. Spear, all white men, who were to register the voters in each precinct not later than October

¹⁴¹ From W. T. Roberson.

30, about seven days before the final election. This allowed almost any transient to vote.

On Monday, October 18, a Democratic Club was formed at Forest with R. B. Waggoman, president and H. C. McCabe, secretary. There was not as much interest in these clubs as heretofore. J. A. Glanville was the principal speaker of the occasion. It inspired the organization of other clubs at the principal centers in the county. But on the whole the interest of the voters was centered in the campaign in progress elsewhere in the State. The chief aim in Scott county seemed to be to make the majority as large as possible. The Democrats were assured of success from the beginning. As the county was regarded a Democratic stronghold, the state candidates of both parties fought shy of it, and went to counties that were more likely to be influenced by their coming.

One of the most interesting incidents of the campaign was the killing of Sam West, a negro preacher living near Windham's plantation at Homewood. He was a candidate for supervisor against H. H. Halbert. This was a strong negro district and it was feared that he would be able to carry it. But the white men determined that he should not. Sam was slightly above the average negro in intelligence, but he boastingly used his influence over his fellows in the wrong direction. Perceiving this fact a few white men went to his house to give him a severe talk—certainly not to do him serious personal injury. Sam had learned of their coming and several of his black friends had agreed to arm themselves and to spend the night with him to protect him against the visitors. This was only a few days before the election in November. Sam was cruelly mistaken in the idea that these men were coming to kill him and this mistake probably cost him his life.

When the whites approached Sam's home and asked him to come out he refused; he would answer none of their questions nor talk to them. Soon the whites learned that Sam and several of his friends were in the house armed, they determined to take him out at all costs. Finally, a short battle ensued in which Sam was killed, presumably by one of the white men, who slipped, unobserved during the shooting by both sides, to the back of the chimney to the house and there shot Sam, as he was firing at the whites. This was the end of

what might have been a serious race trouble on the eve of the election.¹⁴²

On the night before the election the negroes held a big rally in Forest and denounced the reports that they would all go to Hillsboro the next day and vote with guns on their shoulders and that "Publican" tickets had been distributed by negroes, armed to the teeth. Jonas Henderson was made temporary chairman of the meeting. Henry Garrett and J. Gresham, both negroes, spoke to the crowds and advised against any disorderly conduct the next day, but advised each negro elector to vote the Republican ticket. Oliver Eastland, an influential white citizen of Forest—influential with both races—spoke to the crowd and advised them to vote the Democratic ticket.¹⁴³

The Republican and Democratic tickets were of different colors ordinarily. In that election the Democratic tickets did not appear until after the Republican tickets were printed. They were nearly the same color and had practically the same figure as the republican tickets. As most of the negroes could not read, this method of deceiving them could be carried out at the polls in many cases.¹⁴⁴

On one occasion two young negroes, Albert Grisold and Berry Harper were detailed by the Republican managers to deliver the "Publican" tickets to a certain precinct in south Scott. It happened accidentally that certain white men, who were squirrel hunting, were near the road. At first, they did not see the negroes, nor did the negroes see them. When the whites shot at some game, the negroes, thinking they were being shot at, were so scared that they jumped from the mules they were riding, and left mules, tickets and everything else "for the tall timber." If the negroes voted at that precinct, they must have voted the Democratic ticket.¹⁴⁵

In the Forest precinct, a Republican stronghold, the following simple device on one occasion is said by H. H. Halbert to have been used to prevent the negroes from voting. The negro usually desired to vote in a body and always as early as possible. During the

¹⁴² From Bob Chislm and Joe Harper.

¹⁴³ *Forest Register*, November, 1875.

¹⁴⁴ From W. T. Roberson and D. S. Holmes.

¹⁴⁵ *Forest Register*, November, 1875.

earlier part of the day a good crowd of whites and blacks were standing around the voting precinct. The negroes had heard vague rumors that there was to be trouble that day, and naturally they were more or less excited. Some small boys from fourteen to eighteen years of age were given whips and told to appear suddenly in different parts of the crowd, to pop their whips promiscuously, but not to hit anybody. The already scared and excited negroes fearing that this was the beginning of an outbreak left the voting precinct, not to return again that day.

Republican tickets were sent to a certain negro at Morton the day before the election, Mr. —, who happened to be a good friend of the negro, gave him a quart of whiskey, made him imbibe freely and then exchanged the Republican for Democratic tickets. This is said to have been done at several of the precincts.¹⁴⁶

It was reported that about 100 negroes from the Lay neighborhood, a few miles north of Lake, were coming in a body to that place to vote. The white people learned of this scheme, and sent word to the negroes in advance that it would be best not to attempt such an invasion. Nearly every gun in town was collected, it is said, to repel this invasion. The negroes decided to abandon their undertaking, and to go to Lake and vote in twos and fours instead of in a crowd. Serious trouble might have resulted had the negroes carried out their original intention.¹⁴⁷

When the news became general that the whole Democratic ticket had won by about 600 majority and that the whole state had overthrown carpetbag rule by over 30,000 majority there were wild scenes all over the county. The old cannon at Forest was again pulled out, and several salutes were fired; anvils were also fired. The town of Forest resembled a college student body, celebrating an intercollegiate victory. The cannon was carried to Lake and there fired, amid the ringing of bells.

Nearly every officer, chosen at this election, from constable to governor was a firm Democrat. The government had at last been rescued and the reconstruction struggle was a thing of the past.

¹⁴⁶ From R. C. Cooper and W. T. Roberson.

¹⁴⁷ From J. J. Haralson.

VI. ECONOMIC CONDITION.

It goes without saying that the people of the county were in a miserable economic condition after the surrender. Deprived for four years of the services of its best men, hundreds of whom were never to return to their old homes, the county lost in an untold measure. There were also three Federal raids through the county, two by General Sherman with an army of 30,000 men and one by General Grierson, who left scarcely nothing but desolation in their path. All public buildings were destroyed, property seized, the railroad tracks torn up, and the factory and railroad shops at Lake burned. Returning from the battlefield the soldiers found their farm houses dilapidated, slaves emancipated, animals carried away, fields fallow, fences down, and their Confederate currency valueless.

The negroes, who had just won their freedom, were utterly dependent on others, owning nothing, not even a mind to earn their living, to say nothing of a home, live-stock, money or credit. After the emancipation of the slaves most of them continued to live with their former masters. Some of them went to work on the V. & M. railroad, in the wagon factory at Lake and on "public works" in the larger towns. During the first two years they gave the whites very little trouble. It was only after Tarbell, Stone and men of similar type, began to teach their false doctrines of social and political equality and of the dishonesty of the whites in their relations with the colored race that the negroes began to draw aloof from their former masters. The breach, once made, grew wider and wider.

There was nothing to begin work on. A few of the cavalymen had brought their horses home and with these tried to make a crop, but they returned home too late to succeed. It is difficult to paint in words the true economic condition of the county at the beginning of this period. Many men who had never worked before were now doing in some cases the same kind of labor their former slaves had performed. All articles of merchandise were at fabulously high prices. By the summer of 1867 prices had fallen perhaps a third, and yet in the issue of August 17, 1867 of the *Forest Register*, prices were quoted at Forest as follows: Bacon, 25 cents; corn \$3.65; flour, \$17; rice, 15 cents; sugar, 25 cents; cotton, 15-18 cents; coffee, 30-32

cents; and other articles accordingly. At the close of the war calico was selling at 40 cents a yard and domestic of a coarse quality at 30 to 40 cents; cotton yarn at \$6 and \$7 for five pound bundles.¹⁴⁸ At the surrender, a Federal tax of \$15 a bale was levied on cotton. This unreasonable tax was finally lowered to \$10 by 1867. Scarcely any cotton was made during the war, since there was little chance for a market and the surplus of corn had been destroyed in the Federal raids. Revenue stamps were required by the government for all deeds, wills and public records.

Almost any week in the earlier years of this period long lines of wagons of settlers from Georgia, Alabama and the South Atlantic States could be seen on the old Hillsboro and Vicksburg road. Some Scott county families joined these settlers who moved to the West. Some did not stay long, others never returned. Cotton and corn were the staple crops, the backbone of the prosperity of the county. The unsettled conditions, poor teams, scarcity of seed and poor labor conditions made short crops of both the staples. Although the year 1867, was an exceedingly poor crop year, more cotton was raised than formerly. It seemed that normal economic conditions were resumed very slowly. In 1868 cotton sold for from 25 to 30 cents, the first bale being raised by H. H. Halbert and sold on September 2, for 27 cents. The crop that year was up to the average, but the *Forest Register* in September of that year contained several columns of advertised sales of delinquent tax lands. The people were actually too poor to pay their taxes. In the fall of 1869, the best crops since the surrender were made. Probably on the strength of this success a project was launched to establish a cotton factory at Harpersville with local capital, but it soon fell through. The first bale that year was raised by Wiley Jones, and sold for 32 cents. There was also a large crop of corn and for the first time in the history of the county, corn was shipped in car load lots from Lake station to neighboring points along the railroad line. The farmers also began to devote more attention to other crops. In the summer of that year W. A. Lack began to cultivate clover, which in addition to the native lespedeza made excellent hay and forage. The year before there was some talk of a "model farm" (experiment station). It was advocated

¹⁴⁸ Brown's *History of Newton County*, 125, 127.

in strong terms and was later taken up by the local Grange. Commercial fertilizers were first used in the county in the spring of 1870. As local merchants were not handling it, it was necessary to buy from Mobile firms. This commercial fertilizer cost \$50.00 a ton in addition to the freight. It was not many seasons until local merchants began to handle it; the price soon fell to a reasonable figure and its use became general.

In 1870 H. H. Halbert brought the first bale to market on August 25, and sold it for 21½ cents. The crop this year was an average one. The next year the same man brought the first bale of cotton to market on August 18. In 1871 there were 3,188 bales shipped from Forest, 981 from Lake and 2,552 from Morton, making a total of 6,721 from the three markets. This amount, added to the number of bales of Scott county cotton shipped from Brandon, Canton and Newton, would probably make about 8,000 bales for the county. The amount shipped from Forest was the largest of any town between Vicksburg and Meridian, except Jackson and Brandon. During the month of March there were shipped from Forest, according to the report of the station agent, 656 barrels of flour and meal; 90,000 pounds of meat; and the amounts paid for freight were: Cash, \$4,929.88; freight on merchandise received, \$5,195.30. Prosperity was slowly coming back to the hard-working citizens, as is shown by the fact that in 1872 Morton alone shipped 4,424 bales of cotton.

It is recorded¹⁴⁹ that in the fall of 1872 white people began to settle in the county in large numbers. This was due primarily to the prosperity of the county and to the double fact that it was under Democratic control and had a safe white majority.

Occasionally the citizens of the county were stirred by some would-be railroad financier who was ostensibly on the eve of building a railroad through it. On May 28, 1873, the surveyors of the M. L. R. railroad entered Forest and on October of the same year Capt. W. H. Hardy proposed to build the S. & C. railroad through the county.

In January of the same year agents of the delta planters came to Scott county and induced many negroes to leave the county. Many other negro families, seeing no hope for social or political equality, also left the county. In 1873 there was a very poor crop of cotton

¹⁴⁹ *Forest Register*, November, 1872.

raised, due to bad seasons, scarcity of labor and money with which to make the crop. In an editorial in the *Forest Register*, (November 26, 1873) the condition of the county was painted in very blue terms. Many of the families were again in poverty. The merchants were in poor shape financially having taken deeds of trust on growing crops, which in many cases had failed. The editor of the local paper accepted anything from molasses to geese on subscriptions and advertisements. One of the early issues of the *Forest Register* in 1874 recorded the fact that there were seven columns and a half of sheriff's advertised sales of delinquent tax lands. At a conservative estimate, the amount of land thus advertised for sale, was nearly one-twelfth of the entire land in the county, or about 20,000 acres. The *Forest Register* for February, 1874 contained the first advertised notice of a bankrupt merchant in the county. It was the case of a merchant who had been too careless with his creditors.

There were, however, many encouraging signs. Oats began to be raised in good quantities. The largest grower of this grain in 1873 was L. B. F. Champion, who raised 700 bushels. Two years later the culture of rice was started in several parts of the county. In 1875 D. Singleton planted fifteen acres of rice. In the same year the Harpersville Flouring Mills were running and grinding much wheat for the people. It was no unusual sight to see comparatively large fields of wheat growing in many sections of the county.

During the entire reconstruction period the roads were worked by the overseer system. There were, on an average, about seventy overseers in the county with from three to six miles of road for each. Each able-bodied man, with certain exceptions, was forced to pay \$5 or work ten days on the roads. This system worked very poorly; the roads in the wet season of the year were practically impassable.

Perhaps the greatest source of discomfort to the people was the extravagant and unnecessary taxes. During the years 1866 and 1867 the taxes were not unreasonably high. As has been shown, the county was in very bad financial condition. In 1868 the Republican board of police assessed a tax of 25 per cent on the State tax, designating no special fund or purpose for which the money was to be used.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ *Forest Register*, September, 1868.

It is unfortunate that the records of the board of police are not available for the years 1868 to 1872. Two years of this time the Republicans were in control of the county and the writer is confident from other facts that their acts were unjustifiable to say the least. In January, 1870 the board of police levied a tax of 100 per cent on the State tax for the removal of the courthouse. The assessed valuation had fallen from \$5,588,979 on the real and personal property in the county in 1860 to only \$1,220,828 in 1870, less than one-fourth. On this sum there was a State tax of \$8,078 or nearly 7 mills. In addition there was the county tax of about 225 per cent on the State tax or about 15 mills, which added to the State tax amounted to nearly 22 mills for those who lived outside of incorporated towns and more for those who lived in one of these towns. According to the census report the county was \$3,000 in debt at that time, but according to the report of the county authorities to the state legislature the county was \$8,000 in debt. The latter figure is probably correct.¹⁵¹

The excessive taxation continued until in 1872 the editor of the *Forest Register* charged that all of the county warrants, which should have been cancelled, had been withdrawn from the clerk's office and the general taxes increased more than a third. At the same time the state board of equalization increased the personal assessment two mills, which now made the state tax on personalty 14 mills, or \$5,087.70 and the school tax, \$2,035.08. At that time there were 315 insolvent polls in the county.

An exhibit of the county's financial condition at the beginning of 1873 was as follows:¹⁵²

(The figures in parenthesis show the amounts actually drawn.)

State tax, $8\frac{1}{2}$ mills.....		\$9,674.82
Pauper outlay.....	(\$1,850.07)	\$1,451.14
County outlay.....	(\$1,730.26)	\$2,415.28
Teacher's fund.....	(\$13,219.87)	\$4,552.62
Contingent fund.....	(\$1,164.87)	\$1,834.86
Courthouse fund.....		\$2,000.00*
Common school fund.....		\$200.00*
Bridges fund.....	(\$736.43)	\$967.43

* This had been paid by friends of a previous assessment.

¹⁵¹ Appendix C, Table XI.

¹⁵² *Forest Register*, January, 1873.

The rates of taxation for state purposes from 1869 to 1878 were as follows:¹⁵³

	mills		mills
1869.....	1	1874.....	14
1870.....	5	1875.....	9½
1871.....	4	1876.....	6½
1872.....	8½	1877.....	6½
1873.....	12½	1878.....	3½

This shows the marked contrast between Republican and Democratic rule.

At the March meeting of the board of supervisors in 1875 the delinquent tax list was 478, the school delinquent tax, \$277.44, the county tax delinquent tax, \$279.40.¹⁵⁴

The following is a partial exhibit of the county's financial condition in 1875:

State tax on personalty.....	\$2,725.12
State school tax on personalty.....	\$740.00
State school tax on realty....	\$4,310.10

The levy of county taxes by the board of supervisors for 1875 was as follows:

	Per cent on State tax
Judiciary fund.....	15
County fund.....	35
Pauper fund.....	25
Bridge fund.....	55
Teacher fund.....	27
Jail fund.....	50

This made a total of 157 per cent of the State tax for local purposes.¹⁵⁵

At the January Meeting of the board of supervisors in 1875 a total of \$5,200.29 was allowed on the various funds. The assessed valuation of real and personal property in the county was \$1,265,412. The State tax on this was \$12,654.12 at 10 mills, less the amount for tax lands held by the state, to wit: \$768.90.

The county levy was:

County fund, 35 per cent on State tax.....	\$4,208.82
Pauper fund, 14 per cent on State tax.....	—
Bridge fund, 10 per cent.....	\$1,202.52
Teacher deficit fund, 37 per cent on State tax.....	\$4,449.33
Contingent deficit fund, 4 per cent on State tax.....	\$481.00

¹⁵³ Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 313.

¹⁵⁴ Practically all of the above facts were taken from the reports of the boards of police or supervisors, which were published monthly in the *Forest Register*.

¹⁵⁵ *Scott County Register*, March 1875.

The county warrants were far below par, but J. S. Halbert, president of the board of supervisors, expressed the hope early in the year that all county paper would soon be worth dollar for dollar.

It will be remembered that there was a difference between the amounts of money in each of the special funds and the amount drawn out for the year 1873. A committee, consisting of Green B. Huddleston, Wyatt Wooten and J. A. Glanville, appointed to investigate the various officers of the county, reported that there had been drawn from the county fund \$1,112.30 more than the amount of warrants on that fund; that there was a like excess of \$616.04 on the bridge fund; and \$1,690.27 on the pauper fund and \$8,208.87 on the school fund. This estimate included the years 1866 to 1873 inclusive, except the year 1868.

From the various figures on taxation it will be seen that the people, already poor, were burdened with taxation during practically the whole reconstruction period. This was not due to the local Democratic officers, but to the State Republicans who assessed the high rates and provided systems of improvement which forced the local officers to assess the taxes.

Below will be given a few incidental facts. In 1870 there were 920 insolvent polls and only \$1,974.00 collected from poll-tax payers. \$1,400 was paid for privilege license that year. In 1872 there were eight saloons in the county—two at Morton, two at Hillsboro and four at Forest. Each saloon license cost \$200. There was a sudden decline to four saloons the next year—one each at Lake and outside of any incorporated town and two at Forest.

LABOR PROBLEMS.

One of the hardest problems to solve after the close of the war was that presented by the disorganized labor condition. Before 1860 there was no necessity for any other system than that of slavery. During the war, of course, the same system continued. After the surrender, with more than 3,000 dependent freedmen in the county, a new system of labor had to be developed almost overnight. Naturally the sudden grant of freedom to this weak race had about paralyzed what little sense of responsibility they had. Many were afraid to stay with the old masters, for fear sweet freedom would some-

how be taken away from them; they wandered away to become the servants of other whites or perchance to buy in rare cases a small home for themselves.

The first legislature after the surrender was afraid of the effects of the sudden emancipation of so many irresponsible human beings and therefore passed several stringent laws, known as the "Black Code." This provided, among other things, that all freedmen should have work by the first of January, 1866. Another clause prohibited them from renting or leasing land except in incorporated towns and cities, and stringent laws were enacted regulating the relation of master and slave.¹⁵⁶ The United States authorities refused to allow this "Black Code" to be enforced, though several Northern States had similar statutes at that very time. The code was repealed the following year. At the time of the passage of these laws (October 1865) most of the slaves were still living on the farms of their former masters, and these laws had very little effect on them. The freedmen's bureau, which has been discussed elsewhere in this paper, was a great source of annoyance to all parties. It made the freedmen discontented, arousing vain hopes—social, political, economic—in their breasts and causing the first breach between the two races.

There were four forms of contracts or systems of working farm land during this period, as follows: half system, quarter and third system, wage hands, and apprenticeship. These systems are familiar to the people today and need little discussion. The first was a low form of partnership where the crop was divided equally between the owner of the land who furnished the tools, farming animals and a home for the tenant's family. The poorer whites and negroes did this work. The quarter and third system was similar to the one that is now wellnigh universal in Mississippi today, and included then the major portion of the renters. The owner of the land furnished a home for the renter and the cultivated land, and received one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the remainder of the crop. A large portion of the freedmen worked about six months of the year for from \$8 to \$12 a month and their board. Work by the day cost the stationary sum of 50 cents or a gallon of molasses, a half-bushel of corn, or an equal value in some other farm product. According to

¹⁵⁶ Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, 289.

the apprentice system the parent of a young negro would "let him out" to a farmer to work for his living. This was usually one of the smaller negro boys whose parents were under some pecuniary obligation to the landlord. This system was not so general as the first three.¹⁵⁷

It seems from first glance that these systems would afford excellent facilities for controlling the negroes, and such would have been the case in Scott county had it not been for the scalawags and carpetbaggers, or the freedmen's bureau and the loyal leagues. So far as known no effort was made to introduce foreign labor to the county during this period, there being less than forty foreigners in the county from 1865 to 1875.

In manufactures the county had made very little progress until many years after the war. In the midst of the reconstruction period (1870) there were 24 manufacturing establishments in the county with a capital of \$36,000, employing 58 hands and producing products valued at \$74,550. These were mostly saw mills, a wagon factory, a flouring mill, grist mills, gins and two tan yards. The last mentioned alone produced \$10,200 worth of tan goods. The virgin forests were scarcely touched by the ax or saw. Many of the mills still used water power throughout the whole period. Some of the gins used horse power, four horses being used to press the cotton into bales.¹⁵⁸

In 1860 there was a total of 368 slaveholders, owning 2,959 slaves or about an average of 8 slaves to each family. There were in the county 892 families, including 5,180 white people. Thus there were about 500 families that did not own a slave, and had to do manual labor for a living.¹⁵⁹ In the same year there were 38,463 acres of improved land and 157,043 of unimproved land. Of the 371,200 acres in the county only about one acre in every ten was in cultivation. There was an average of one horse and one cow for every slave in the county. There was an average of 17 head of hogs for each farm. Most of the farms raised some wheat, there being 3,120 bushels of that grain raised in 1859. An average of 300 bushels of corn was raised on every farm. A fair quantity of rye, barley, oats,

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix C, Table VI.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix C, Tables VII and VIII.

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix C, Table I.

rice, wool and tobacco was also raised that year. The county produced the year before the war 7,152 bales of cotton, an average of 7 bales to the farm and one bale to every person in the county, a proportion since maintained. There was an average of 65 pounds of butter raised on every farm, the 2,636 milk cows in the county producing an average of 32 pounds each. Improved breeds of stock were as scarce as automobiles. There was an average of 42 acres cultivated for every white family in the county, and most of the above products was produced on these 42 acres. Weaving and spinning were still carried on extensively; \$14,733 worth of home made manufactures were produced the year before the war. There was an average of $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of honey to each person in the county.

The above facts give an idea of the economic condition of the county at the outbreak of the war. The acres of improved farms had increased 250 per cent in the ten years immediately before the war. Those were years of progress and prosperity. In 1850 the production of corn was 300 per cent less than in 1860, and the production of cotton jumped nearly 1,000 per cent in the ten years before the war. The production of everything on the farm increased from 200 per cent to 500 per cent from 1850 to 1860.

This gives a fair idea of the progress made by the county before the war. Five years after the close of hostilities, there was the same number of cultivated acres at the outbreak. The production of wheat had fallen 200 per cent, and corn, 250 per cent. Only 131,775 bushels of corn were raised, an average of 100 bushels per farm. Tobacco culture had greatly fallen in importance. The production of cotton had fallen from over 7,000 bales in 1860 to 3,560 in 1870. The production of wool fell more than 600 per cent, the pitiful sum of 560 pounds being raised in 1870. Although the cultivation of barley and rye had about disappeared, the culture of rice was assuming an important place by 1870. In that year there were raised an average of 10 bushels to the farm over the entire county, as compared with one bushel to every farm in 1860.¹⁶⁰

In 1870 there were three farms in the county with an acreage of more than a thousand acres each, and 215 with between 50 and 500 acres. The county was dotted with very small farms. There were

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix C, Table V.

166 of them in the county having less than 10 acres and 840, out of a total of 1,058, having less than 50 acres. In other words about four-fifths of the farms in the county contained less than 50 acres each. This was not true, however, before the war, nor was it true in 1880.¹⁶¹ In 1870 the remaining 250,000 acres in the county consisted of untouched forests for the most part, a good part of which had formerly been bald prairies over which a person could see for miles when the county was first established.¹⁶²

In 1870 there were 1,438 white male citizens in the county, being approximately an average of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to the farm. With cotton as a basis of production, each man in the county produced little more than two bales of cotton and ten bushels of corn. This could easily have been doubled, the small amount being due to labor conditions and the unsettled condition of politics.

Taking these figures as a basis, it will be seen that there was a vast change by the year 1880. By that time there were 1,332 farms in the county; fifteen times as many as ten years before had from 500 to 1,000 acres. Only about 40 per cent of the farms contained an average of 10 acres or less as compared with 80 per cent in 1870. The average size of the farm had grown to 141 acres. There were 13 farms in the county having more than 1,000 acres. The total number of acres in farms had actually grown less from the beginning of the war to 1880, there being then 187,624 acres, whereas there had been 195,506 acres in 1860. On an average there was more than six per cent less of cultivated lands in 1880 than twenty years before. This shows what a calamitous effect war, emancipation and the political and social upheaval of reconstruction had had on the county. In the same time population had grown about 40 per cent from 1870 to 1880.¹⁶³

Fertilizers had become a factor in production by 1880, each farm spending an average of about \$3 for this item. The production of cotton increased more than 200 per cent; but even then there were 1,000 bales less produced in 1880 than in 1860. There were 16,282 acres in cotton, which produced an average of nearly 0.4 bales per acre. Wool had regained its former place of importance. There

¹⁶¹ See Appendix C, Table VI.

¹⁶² From W. T. Roberson.

¹⁶³ See Appendix C, Tables II and VI.

were 20,000 bushels less of sweet potatoes produced in 1880 than in 1860. The production of oats grew from 1,000 bushels in 1860 to 50,370 in 1880. This was before the day of the mowing machine. In 1880 five tons of hay were reported as having been raised in the whole county. There was an average of 30 chickens to the farm; the total production of eggs in 1880 was 95,747 dozen.

These figures give a true insight into the economic condition of the county before and after the war.

VII. EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS.¹⁶⁵

The war paralyzed practically all the schools in Scott county. Only three schools were maintained at intervals during the war. According to the census of 1850 there were in the county: one college (really an academy or high school) with four instructors and 65 students, eight public schools, with eight teachers and 157 pupils, and two private schools. In the administration of Governor Brown (1846) the first public school bill was passed by the legislature of Mississippi. But, it was very defective in that it did not provide for a state or county superintendent and had very little to say about the necessary qualifications of teachers. This act gave little assistance to Scott county.

In 1850 there were only 2,778 white people in the county and they were scattered in all parts of the county. This made the school question a very uncertain one. There were few communities large enough to support a school. There were then only 205 males and 168 females attending school. By 1860 the system of schools had not kept pace with the material progress of the county, but the number of schools had probably doubled. There were about 3000 children of school age, that is, between the ages of 5 and 18. Of course, few of the children of school age had school advantages, either before or during the war. The people were engaged in the fight for existence, and they thought very little of training their children.

When Sherman's army passed through Hillsboro the school building was destroyed, and immediately after the war the people were

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix C, Table V.

¹⁶⁵ The facts here given on educational conditions in Scott county were obtained from the census reports, files of the *Forest Register*, interviews with Messrs. D. S. Holmes, R. C. Cooper, and others.

not able to rebuild. That a general interest was manifested, however, is shown by the fact that twelve of the leading citizens of the town, both Republicans and Democrats, spoke at a public school meeting, all in favor of rebuilding as soon as possible.

At that time Dr. W. Hamiter was principal of the Forest Academy, which had been established in 1866. Attorney T. B. Johnson taught penmanship at the county seat. The Forest Female Academy was established in September, 1869 by Miss Nannie Gresham, who became its first president. In the annual "May-Day celebration"—the "8-o' -May" commemorating the emancipation of the freedmen—of 1870 the negroes devoted the occasion to a general discussion and celebration of the beginning of their educational advantages. The next week the *Forest Register* in a long article heartily endorsed a limited education under the present conditions of the county. It claimed that a limited start was all right, but organization on such an extravagant scale should not be attempted and was worse than useless. Soon after this (June, 1870) the same paper reported that the school prospects were growing better for both races, and reported also that the colored school building at Forest and the one for whites at Hillsboro were completed.

The first board of school directors in Scott county was appointed the latter part of 1870 and consisted of the following men, all of whom were Republicans: J. H. Owen, Jesse B. Jones, John Walden (a negro), John Stone, and W. J. Gilmer. The membership of this board remained intact for about two years.

In the summer of 1871 an important school meeting was held, at which plans for the coming year were made by trustees and patrons of schools over the county, and communicated to the board of school directors. At that time most of the teachers, many of whom had little training, were paid \$50 and some as high as \$75 a month.

Capt. George E. Hasie, the carpetbagger, of whom mention has already been made, was the county superintendent and was appointed by Governor Ames. Perhaps he did not find the remuneration satisfactory, as he left the county soon afterwards. He was succeeded in office by a native Republican, W. A. Lack, of Harperville.

On November 5, 1870, Captain Hasie made his first and only report on the schools of the county. There were according to this report 932 white male children, 835 white girls, 585 negro boys and

587 negro girls—a total of 2,939. In May of this year the first negro school started at Forest. At the beginning of the school craze under Captain Hasie, the extravagant alien theorizer, the monthly salaries of teachers were as follows: Primary, \$50; intermediate, \$100; principal, \$150. It was soon seen that the school treasury would not warrant such salaries; hence they were later, after the removal of Hasie, placed nearer their normal and reasonable amount. At that time summer schools seemed to be more popular than winter schools.¹⁶⁶

A carpetbagger, by the name of Post, totally unknown to the people of the county, was made principal of the Forest Male Academy at a handsome salary, the best paid in the county. Post must not have given satisfaction, as he was not retained after the first year. He left the county, and was never heard of again by its citizens.

One year after the establishment of the school system of 1870 there were 24 teachers, 19 whites and 5 negroes. It is thought that no white person ever taught a negro school in the county. In 1870 there were 3,040 children of school age in the county.

In the report to the legislature, which met in January, 1870, was an account of the Lawrence Business College, at Harpersville, with E. B. Lawrence, a graduate of Bryant and Stratton College, president and W. R. Butler, vice-president and dean of the scientific department. German, French, Latin and bookkeeping were taught in the school. Board was \$15 a month, and a scholarship cost \$60. This college was established the year before the establishment of the public school system and supplied a long felt want. It probably ranked with the preparatory schools of the country.

In 1870 this poor county spent on education the handsome sum of \$13,345. This was considerably more than \$4 for each educable child in the county. Of this amount \$8,555 was spent for teachers of both races, \$2,100 for school furniture and considerably larger sums for buildings, school apparatus, and rent. The average the next year for each teacher in the county, white and black, was \$58 a month. Captain Hasie received \$850 for his services of about two days a month. It was established by no less an authority than Hasie himself that the amount of loss on loan of school funds that year was \$8,000.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ *Forest Register*, November, 1870.

¹⁶⁷ Superintendent's report to State legislature, 1870.

Three years later the total expenditure for education was somewhat larger than in 1870. Teachers' salaries alone had increased to \$12,716.50, an increase of 50 per cent. But this was probably due entirely to an increase in the number of schools and teachers, for the average salary of \$58 a month remained the same. In 1870 there were \$4,943.97 of outstanding claims against the county, which were regarded as probably good and \$1,005.55 worthless. These amounts were about the same three years later.

In 1870 there were \$20,000 of outstanding claims against the county, most of which were for school purposes. In all suits against the county for these payments the county was represented by Attorneys Smith and Graham. There was only about \$1,700 sued for from 1870 to 1873. By 1873 the amount of outstanding school claims had fallen to \$5,839.52.¹⁶⁸

In 1870 Scott county received only \$10 from the Chickasaw fund, while some other counties received hundreds and even thousands. Probably the county was also unfairly treated when the State appropriation for the common schools of 1869 was made. It is believed that in both of these instances the county was discriminated against.¹⁶⁹

In 1873 there were 66 teachers in the county—38 white in the public schools, 17 colored in the public schools, 10 white in the private schools, and one colored in a colored private school. At the same time there were 35 school buildings owned by the county, and one rented. There were 1,374 white children in the public schools, which was about 80 per cent of the whole, while in the negro schools at the same time there were but 260 children, or about 18 per cent of the whole. For the 3,212 children in the county in 1873 there were 10 more primary schools than in 1870, but the number of private schools had decreased to 6, and the private school for the negroes had gone out of existence. That year there was a total of 50 schools. It is an interesting fact that Scott county received \$300 from the Peabody fund.

Only eight towns in Mississippi received any assistance from the Peabody board and two of these were in Scott county,—Harperville and Hillsboro. Dr. Sears of the board of trustees of this fund in 1872 made the following report:

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

"Harperville.—The graded school at this place was highly recommended by the State superintendent and aid was promised to the amount of \$300. In reporting its condition on April 27, 1872, the county superintendent said, 'This school opened in January for eleven months. The result has exceeded my most sanguine expectation in the additional number of pupils. Persons from ten miles around have rented houses for the purpose of giving their children a more liberal education. A new school house having a capacity of 350 children has been built by voluntary subscriptions of the citizens at a cost of \$2500 including a donation of \$500 from the State. The expense of running the school this session will amount fully to \$3000.'

"For the school in this town, (Hillsboro), which employs three teachers at an expense of \$2500, we pay \$300. The State superintendent said, 'No institution in the State is more deserving of aid.'"¹⁷⁰

The following is the report of Superintendent, W. A. Lack, made to the State superintendent on the schools of 1870:¹⁷¹

"The public school system opened in this county under great pressure, owing to its novelty, and its being regarded as a political measure. But since the people have learned that it is a constitutional provision they have become reconciled and will give the system their hearty support, provided it does not become too burdensome.

"I would suggest that the tax levied to create the teachers' fund be increased and that for the common school fund be diminished from the fact that our people are willing to build their own school houses if they can be furnished with teachers.

"I would also suggest that the supervisors be instructed to appoint the most intelligent men—such as will act impartially—doing strict justice to all classes as school directors.

"I would further recommend that the old school fund which is now in the hands of individuals be collected in and placed in bulk, so the interest may be collected at one time and applied to paying off the teachers."

This is a much better report than would have been expected. He should be commended for his zeal in procuring outside aid.

Superintendent Lack made the following report of the schools in the county in 1872:

"Schools have been running for five months a year. Some ran for only four months. Some suspended by mutual consent, and a few were suspended by my order on account of the small attendance.

"There has been no disposition on the part of the white people to interfere with colored schools, but they have shown an entire willingness that the negroes should have equal school advantages. We should have some difficulty in procuring teachers for the colored children, but by the assistance of the best portion of the whites we have succeeded to a limited extent in furnishing them.

"We take great pleasure in stating that we have a most excellent board of school directors. There has been no conflict between the board of school directors and the board of supervisors.

¹⁷⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1872.

¹⁷¹ *Senate Journal*, 1870, 268.

"We made possibly one error in letting out the schools in the early part of the year for five months. The indebtedness of my county in the sum of \$12,000 has resulted therefrom on account of the legislature.

"I have failed to receive the pro rata share of the State school fund."¹⁷³

By 1874 Superintendent Lack reported that educational enthusiasm had greatly decreased, due in part to the poor economic condition of the people. There was about \$6,000 yet due to teachers with no early prospect of payment. Only four schools were operated during the first eight months of the year—two white and two colored. Superintendent Lack suggested that the poll tax be raised from \$1 to \$2. At that time there were 3,460 children of legal school age in the county, a part of whom went to school in the four public schools, and in eight private schools. In the four public schools there was enrolled the pitiful number of 155 pupils with a general average attendance of only 120. There were only four teachers for these schools. Two of these held first grade licenses and the remainder third grade. It might be mentioned incidently that a free scholarship worth \$100 to the University of Mississippi was given each year to some student from the county.

In 1875, when the teacher's warrants again assumed something like their normal value, the number of schools ran up to 39 with a monthly average of \$62.50 paid for salaries. The deficit in the teacher's fund had fallen to \$3,500 and the county and city tax for school purposes was only \$4,875.

The sudden decline in the school system in 1874 was due to the bad financial condition of the county. The county could not pay its debts, and the teachers would not teach the schools with such slight prospects of remuneration. The usual number of teachers was only secured after full assurance was given that county warrants were being paid and were again nearing face value.

The general management of the schools of the county during the entire reconstruction period remained in the hands of the Republicans, but, be it said to the credit of these men, the system was managed much better than had been anticipated.

Most of the teachers came from the county, few being imported from other sections of the country. The negro school system, due partly to the minority of negroes in the county, did not assume pro-

¹⁷³ *Senate Journal*, 1872, 895.

portions large enough to arouse the active opposition of the whites. The very small percentage of negroes in the schools did not materially interfere with labor. The first year or two of the school system saw one or two carpetbaggers in the schools but the public sentiment was so strong against them, that one session was enough to convince them that they were needed elsewhere. An illustration of the manner in which an arrogant negro teacher was treated when he became unruly may be found under the head of "Ku Klux Klan."¹⁷³

VIII. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

In the fifteen years before the war there were three religious denominations in Scott county—the Baptist, Methodist, and Lutheran. These denominations had about eight churches in the county. The southern part of the county was the stronghold of the Lutheran church and Hillsboro was the center of both Baptist and Methodist activities.

The first church in the county was organized in 1836, one and one-half miles from Hillsboro. This church was taken into the official Methodist circuit in 1837. Green M. Rodgers, the presiding elder, was the organizer. From this small beginning grew the present strong organizations of Methodists in the county. The first Baptist churches were organized by Rev. M. Clarke, a well known religious worker, for whom Clarke Memorial College was named. Huddleston and Clarke were among the first preachers. Among the other churches organized before the war were the following: Mutual Union, a Methodist church near Pulaski; Wesley Chapel in the southern part of the county; Primitive Baptist, near Pulaski and near Antioch, the first pastor of which was J. G. Crecelius. The first Lutheran chapel was organized in 1857 near where Carr's Church is now located.

It is stated by citizens who lived in the county before the war that the people, as a rule, had then a more genuine, sincere, religious attitude than those who have lived there since. Whether this is the statement of persons whose hallowed memories of the past are exaggerated is not known.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ See *supra*.

¹⁷⁴ The above information was secured from Moses H. Lack's article published in the *Forest Register*, in the 80's and from R. C. Cooper, W. T. Roberson, D. S. Holmes, Z. T. Falkner, B. T. Sumrall and others.

At the outbreak of the war there were 14 churches in the county—8 Baptist, 4 Methodist, 2 Lutheran—having building accommodations for 3,425 people and property to the value of \$4,600. These buildings fell into ruins when the men left for the war, and the organization in most of them soon went to pieces.¹⁷⁵

In 1865 this same condition prevailed to even a worse extent. Buildings were in decay; preachers had either been killed or had not all returned and the attention of the people was directed primarily to worldly thoughts. The Primitive Baptist minister soon reorganized his two churches, and S. R. Shepherd, P. M. Gaddis, C. McDonald and G. W. Chatfield began the work of preaching to the white people. Robert Bell did the same for the negroes.

The town of Forest had attained some little degree of growth even before the war, but it had no church building as late as May, 1867. The first church to organize in the place was the Baptist, under the leadership of Revs. N. L. Clarke, W. R. Butler, and L. P. Murrell on May 12, 1867, with seventeen charter members. Rev. W. R. Butler was the first pastor. Three years later the church was first represented in the Baptist association, and it reported a membership of 41; 9 white men, 23 white women and 9 negroes. At that time it occupied the Presbyterian church building, the only church building in the town. The Baptist church building was not completed until October, 1873, and the Methodist until February, 1874.

This gives an idea of the organization and works of the various churches in the county. It was customary during the first few years after the war for the negroes to have their regular membership in the white churches, where special seats were reserved for them. It is said that a great many of the older negroes were very devout in their worship and faithful in their religious observances. But it was not long until they began to distrust the whites in all their relations, and as a consequence they soon felt out of place in the white people's churches. Word then came that the negroes in other sections of the State were organizing separate churches. Their leaders began to ask why they could not do likewise and organize churches for members of their own race exclusively. These were to be built up on the same general lines as the older churches. In September 1869 the

¹⁷⁵ Census Report, 1860; R. C. Cooper.

first separate negro church in the county was established at Forest, after the fashion of the Baptists of that town. Soon the negroes in various other parts of the county began to break loose from the white churches and to found their own churches, where they could worship God to suit themselves. Before the end of 1871 the negroes had established about six or eight separate churches. Robert Bell and Sam West were among the leading and most active men in this reorganization of the church system.

Extreme, spasmodic emotionalism marked their church services during this time, as now. Only two denominations—the Baptist and Methodist—attained a very extensive colored following in reconstruction days. Neither the Lutheran nor Presbyterian denominations exercised any considerable influence over the negroes, and therefore had not enough followers to justify the organization of a church in any community. The percentage of negroes who had church affiliations is not known, but it has been estimated that not more than 50 per cent of them belonged to the churches in any one period.

The relation between the whites and negroes religiously was at first warm and confidential, but it soon grew cold. They ignored each other more and more, as they grew further apart politically. The whites never entered the negro churches, except as a matter of curiosity, and finally the negroes refused to come into, and were refused membership in, the white churches.

Five years after the war there were 18 churches in the county, representing four denominations as follows: The Presbyterians had 1 church, the Lutherans 3; the Methodists, 5, and the Baptists, 9. There were accommodations in these churches for 4100 people, the Baptists alone accommodating 2,500.¹⁷⁶ Practically all churches in the county were built by voluntary local labor, and the small amount of \$5,700 represented the entire valuation of the property belonging to these 18 churches.

The latest denomination to enter the county and the first to build a house of worship at Forest was the Presbyterian. Their building was completed in 1870; their first pastor was A. L. Kline. The Methodist conference met at Forest in September, 1870. It appointed the following preachers for the county: L. Kendell, Morton; William

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix C, Table XI.

Fenn, Forest; A. Vance, Lake; W. R. Butler, R. McInnis and C. McDonald. Many of these ministers served four or even five churches. For example, in 1872, G. W. Chatfield served the churches at Lake, High Hill, Wesley Chapel, Forest, and Carr's Church. In 1872, the Brandon M. E. conference again met at Forest with F. M. Williams, presiding elder. On November 12, 1873 the Primitive Baptist Association met at Antioch with churches from many counties represented. By 1875 the number of regular Baptist churches had increased to fifteen, all of whom were represented in the convention held at Springfield in September, 1874 in which W. R. Butler was moderator and S. H. Kirkland, clerk. One month later the Presbyterians of Central Mississippi met at Forest. An effort was made about that time to organize an Episcopal church at Morton; Rector R. Hines of Meridian preached about once a month for several months. But the organization lasted only a short time.

These unconnected facts give a fairly accurate account of the religious work of the people of Scott county from 1865 to 1875. There was no destruction of church property during the stormy period, as was the case in many other counties.

IX. SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

An account has already been given of many of the race conflicts and disturbances of this period; also of the number, character and causes of the various murders, assaults, and other offenses. Instances have also been noted in which the efforts of negroes and carpetbaggers to gain social recognition resulted in violence. It remains to be said in this connection that every effort to instil doctrines of social equality resulted invariably in the same vain end.

It is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number or character of suits brought in the probate and circuit and chancery courts during the reconstruction period. The court records were either lost in the numerous moves from Hillsboro to Forest and back, that took place in the stormy days of the county site trouble, or were burned in 1900, when the court house was burned. Judging from the large number of prosperous and successful lawyers at Forest and Hillsboro, there must have been a large amount of business before the courts, but the exact nature of this business is not known. There

were only five counties in the sixth circuit district, in which Scott county was located. The terms of the circuit court in Scott county were twelve days each in March and September, which are about the same as at the present time, when the population and interests have almost trebled. But on the other hand, strange to say, the report of the penitentiary authorities for 1870 shows that there was not a convict from Scott county, and no report for this period showed more than two in any one year. But a possible cause for this discrepancy was the gross negligence in the enforcement of the laws, as has already been shown.

Grange Movement.

In 1872 and 1873 the first grange lodges were organized in the county. These were organizations of farmers into unions for their mutual benefit and general helpfulness. The objects and methods of these local organizations were similar to those of the Farmer's Union, which is a potent factor in the welfare of the farmers of the present day.

One of the first grange organizations in the county was that at Hillsboro, which was organized in 1872.¹⁷⁷ On August 24, 1873, was held the first general county convention and grange rally at Forest. It was presided over by W. W. Gardner, and the official delegates were as follows: A. M. Champion and A. Brooke, Homewood; Lod Moore and A. G. Tadlock, Vaughn; E. L. Pitman and S. C. Bates, Sylvarena; B. K. Harralson and J. E. Putnam, Whiteville.

In the issue of August 27, 1873, of the county paper, a general outline of the work, plans, scope, ideals, and purposes of the grange were explained, and its influence was said to be growing rapidly. W. T. Roberson, the district lecturer, organized local lodges throughout the district.

A general convention of the various granges was held in Forest on December 15, 1873. J. L. Gresham was the chairman and J. H. Grundy, the secretary. The following eleven local lodges were represented in this convention: Vaughn, Economy, Union, Myers, Hays Creek, Homewood, Hillsboro, Whiteville, Industrial, Lake, Robinson. J. R. Owen was elected county president; J. L. Gresham, secretary; W. T. Roberson and E. W. Carr, first and second vice-presidents;

¹⁷⁷ *Forest Register*, August 27, 1873.

Moses H. Lack, chaplain; and Lod Moore, treasurer. These eleven local lodges were located in all parts of the county, and the list of delegates contains the names of many of the most prominent citizens of the county. This shows that the grange had already within two years of its organization in the county attained a high degree of excellence and influence over the farmers.

J. L. Gresham was the county agent, who did the buying for the members, and many of them secured the bulk of their supplies through him.

Through the influence of the grange enough people were interested in December, 1874, to organize a county fair. The members in Newton and Scott counties then joined in a coöperative scheme for a bi-county fair, known as the "Patron's Union." This was located two miles north of Lake, near the county line. This fair has been held every year since its organization on the same grounds and under the same name. It is said to be the oldest fair in the State that has run continuously under the same name.

In many other ways the grange exercised a great influence over the people. But before many years, dissention began to creep in. In March, 1875, the grangers were buying practically all of their flour from W. Harrington and Company. The *Forest Register*, after making an investigation, reported that this company was a "humbug" and that the people were being cheated.

But on the whole the grange exerted a wholesome influence during the later days of reconstruction by uniting the people more closely, by teaching them many improved methods of farming and by diverting their attention from matters that were less important.

Patron's Union.

An account of the organization of the Patron's Union has already been given under the sketch of the grange movement. Every autumn hundreds of the enterprising citizens of Scott and Newton counties bring their prize produce to the "Union" where many of the families have "tents" (rough, one and two story buildings) for themselves and friends. Many families even drive their milk cows, bring their bedding and cooking utensils, and "camp out" during the ten days of the meeting.

On the day before the fair the roads leading thereto resemble a general moving scene. Interest has rarely lagged in the Patron's Union since the day of its organization.¹⁷⁸

Masonic Organizations.

The Masonic organizations were among the most important in Scott county during the reconstruction period. There were two lodges in the county before the war, at Morton and Hillsboro.¹⁷⁹ The lodge at Hillsboro was organized in 1845 and at first held its meetings in the courthouse. After a time the lodge joined with the Methodists in building a two-story lodge and church combined. After the war this lodge was soon reorganized. Many other lodges were then organized in the few years of reconstruction.

For a good part of the reconstruction period the George W. Gray Lodge, No. 352, near Morton, was in a flourishing condition with T. F. Pettus, worshipful master, and the Morton Lodge, No. 254, with A. P. Siers, worshipful master, and the Scott Lodge, No. 80, at Hillsboro, with John R. Owen, worshipful master.

A Masonic lodge was organized at Forest, No. 360, in March, 1873, with the following officers: M. D. Graham, worshipful master, and A. H. Biscoe, senior warden. The reconstruction period saw several other Masonic lodges begin their work in the county.¹⁸⁰

Amusements.

For amusements the people engaged in many of the same sports and games which now interest their sons and daughters. But in addition to present day amusements were the log-rollings, at which neighbors would spend the day with one of their number who needed their assistance in clearing land. They were always rewarded at dinner time by a generous bowl of eggnog or an ample supply of strong drink, followed by a sumptuous feast for all of both races, and often by a dance at night for the young whites. Next in importance came the corn huskings with a feast and the old fashioned dance late at night. There were also quilting parties and tournaments.

¹⁷⁸ G. W. Grey and W. T. Roberson.

¹⁷⁹ From Moses H. Lack.

¹⁸⁰ From W. A. Gatewood.

The occasion of the greatest enjoyment for the greatest number was afforded by the tournaments, held in various parts of the county and attended by hundreds of people. Regular tournament clubs were organized in the northern part of the county, notably at Hillsboro, Harperville and Ludlow. These held athletic contests of all kinds. The most interesting contest was the test of horsemanship, in which the rider with a lance attempted to catch rings suspended over him in the air. The rider who caught the most rings was declared the winner and was the hero of the occasion.

The *Register* gives an account of one of these tournaments, which was held at Harperville, October 13, 1874,¹⁸¹ by the Harperville Club, of which T. A. Beaver was president, J. W. Turner, vice-president, J. E. Holifield, secretary, and G. C. Harper, treasurer. J. R. Owen and M. M. Shannon were the two marshals, with duties similar to those of athletic referees of the present day. Hundreds attended this tournament, which was the society event of the year for that neighborhood. To the winning hero were given a gold medal and a joyful recognition by all the young ladies—rewards eagerly looked forward to by all the young men who were contesting.

In the tournament held in September, 1874, at Ludlow, there were twenty-three contestants, among them being G. B. Antley, of Forest.¹⁸²

X. MUNICIPAL HISTORY.

As has been stated, the Vicksburg and Meridian railroad was completed through the town of Forest about two and a half years before the war. In 1861, there were seven or eight business houses and a few score families in the town, but, when the summons came for men at the front, the drain was so great that the town was almost depopulated. It was not until 1866 that new energy was instilled into the place by the location of the county site at that point, but this was soon taken away by the removal of the county site to Hillsboro. It was not long, however, until the county became an incorporated municipality, with J. M. Brassell one of its first mayors. This was in 1870 and Brassell was appointed by the State authorities. Little is known of the man. He must not have given satisfaction to the Republican

¹⁸¹ *Forest Register*, October, 1874.

¹⁸² *Forest Register*, September and December, 1874.

authorities, for he was removed in November of that year and his position was given to a faithful Republican, a carpetbagger named Capt. George E. Hasie. Soon thereafter, and while holding the position of mayor, Hasie was appointed justice of the peace, postmaster of Forest, superintendent of education and president of the board of school directors of Scott county. A short time before this he had made his debut in Scott county, spending his first day in the county in jail for some disorder, presumably drunkenness. His Radical associates never knew where his native home was. Finding his many positions not lucrative enough to satisfy his greed for gold and noting that a municipal election was to be held in the coming November at which even his political associates would not support him, he left the county never to return. R. E. Harper was made marshal at the same time Hasie was appointed mayor.¹⁸³ W. A. Lack received the positions of postmaster and justice of the peace left by the carpetbagger.

Before the November election the county paper made a careful canvass of the situation and predicted many days before the election that the town government was safe. W. A. Lack was elected mayor on the Democratic ticket and J. J. Crane, J. A. Hendon, Sr., D. M. Womack and John Biscoe, aldermen, and R. E. Harper, town marshal. All of these men had lived in the county before the war and were thoroughly identified with its interests. They held office for two years. In the fall of 1873 Lack was opposed for mayor by A. H. Biscoe, a true and faithful Democrat. Many were opposed to Lack because he had once received an appointment from the Republicans, and he was defeated for reelection by the decisive vote of 66 to 5. The following Democrats were elected aldermen: J. J. Crane, John Biscoe, D. M. Womack, J. A. Hendon. Henry Garrett, the leading negro politician of the town, was also a candidate for alderman at that election, but was defeated by a decisive vote. In 1875, H. C. McCabe, a rising young lawyer of Forest, was elected mayor. It will be noted that the town was in the hands of the Democrats at all times when they were given an opportunity to express their wishes at the polls, and that the only time the Republicans were in control was when men were appointed to fill the positions. It was stated by the county paper after the election of 1871 that few of the negroes

¹⁸³ *Forest Register*, May, 1867; November and December, 1870.

would vote, as they were "miffed" because none of their race were on either ticket.

Some idea of the burden of town taxation may be had from the fact that at one time a tax of 50 per cent of the State tax was levied, and this did not include all of the municipal taxes. These heavy taxes were required to maintain the costly schools for the two races, a carpetbagger named Post, being in charge of one and a negro in charge of the other.

The old town of Morton was established even earlier than Forest. Its earlier history resembles very much that of the county seat, both being on the stage line running from points in Alabama to Vicksburg. A tavern was located at Morton before the war, at which the stage coaches stopped on their regular runs to and from Vicksburg.¹⁸⁴

The municipal history of the town after the war is not very important. It became a municipality about the same time as Forest, and its first officers were also Republican appointees. But, as soon as the people had an opportunity to express themselves at the polls, the town became Democratic. The officers of the town in 1873 were: J. C. Chambers, mayor, T. W. McCaul and John P. Harris, aldermen.

The municipal history of Hillsboro and Lake resemble in every essential detail those of the two towns already given. Other facts about those towns have been given under other heads.

XI. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The sources from which the above material was obtained may be divided into three parts, arranged according to importance: newspapers, officials records and private interviews with persons who were citizens of the county during the period.

By far the most important source, the one from which the major portion of the above information was obtained, was the old files of the *Forest Register* and the *Ku Klux Klan*, which were furnished by Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Butler, the present editors of the *Scott County Register* at Forest. Not all of the issues of these two papers are preserved, and those volumes which are extant are fast decaying. This paper was established May 9, 1867, by James A. Glanville, who edited it

¹⁸⁴ From R. C. Cooper.

until September of that year. It was intended for readers in all of the surrounding counties, and was therefore more than a county paper.

Its seven columns, four sheets, were filled to a large extent with political news and discussions. In spite of the subscription price of \$3.50, the paper enjoyed a large and increasing circulation, regardless of the poor economic condition of the people.

James A. Glanville, the editor, was a lawyer at Forest and engaged in his legal practice in addition to the printing business. He was a whole-souled, true Democrat, who was working for the interest of the native conservatives and his opinions were generally respected throughout the county.

September 19, 1867, J. B. Blackwell succeeded Glanville as editor. He had but recently moved to the county and was little known, but he won the public confidence after a short time. In the first issue after he became editor, he indorsed in strong terms the platform of the Constitutional Union party of Mississippi and later for some reason failed to indorse the Democratic White Men's party. Blackwell remained the editor until March 25, 1868, when W. H. McKay took his place. Of McKay little is known, other than that he was a Democrat. He directed the editorial policy of the paper only five months. Then Glanville, after an absence of about a year, again took charge.

Then began the weekly letters of advice to the freedmen in which they were given lessons of humbleness and service. These were well known and were widely quoted. He also discussed the status of the negro from every point of view. He attacked the Republicans and Republican doctrines in practically every issue of the paper. He was always on the lookout for some act or doctrine of that party to attack fiercely, and no matter on whose toes he was treading he let down his pile driver of criticism with all the force of his great intellect. Usually his political forecasts were verified by the course of events.

From the *Forest Register* was obtained most of the exact dates of events, and the specific data about the elections. The first issue of the paper after the occurrence of an event was usually the one from which the data was obtained. All of the election returns with one exception were obtained from this paper. Practically all of the material obtained from this source is believed to be more than fairly accurate. In 1871 Glanville sold the paper and moved to Okolona, where he and A. Y. Harper edited a paper jointly.

Dr. S. Davis became the editor in 1871, but he was soon afterwards succeeded by Blackwell, who again took charge. In March, 1871, a new paper was established under the same management as the older paper, and was published by the same editor. It was named the *Ku Klux Klan*, and was designed to pay less attention to local affairs than to State and national politics, and to lay special stress on all accounts of the acts of the Ku Klux Klan. Before the end of the first year the paper went out of existence, not being a profitable investment. The information obtained from this source is not considered as trustworthy as that from the older publication.

The files of *The Clarion*, a Democratic newspaper published at Jackson, of the *Times*, a daily Republican newspaper at Vicksburg and of the *Jackson Pilot*, a daily and weekly newspaper of the Radical type, all of which are in the University of Mississippi library, have also been consulted, particularly with reference to State and national politics. Much information was obtained from these sources. From the *Panola Star*, a weekly Democratic journal whose files are preserved in Panola county, other information of a political nature was also obtained.

The official records consulted have been many and varied. The county in 1900 had the misfortune to lose by fire most of its official records. The only county records, available to the writer, were a few deed and will books and marriage records, from which little information of a definite nature was derived, though the names of a few officials and some incidental information were secured from these sources. Of course these sources are entirely trustworthy.

The official census reports have been especially valuable. The reports for 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880 have been consulted. Tables based on these reports may be found in the appendix to this study.

The Senate and House Journals of Congress from 1865 to 1875, on matters pertaining to the Southern States, especially to Mississippi, the acts of the State legislature from 1866 to 1876, and the Senate and House Journals and the biennial reports of the various State institutions for this period, obtained from the library of the University of Mississippi, have been very valuable. The archives and historical records of the Department of Archives and History at Jackson and some records in the State library at Jackson have been examined with profit. The House Miscellaneous Documents, 3d Session, 40th Con-

gress, 1868-69, contains much valuable material on the "Condition of Affairs in Mississippi." The report of the Boutwell Committee appointed to investigate Ku Klux conditions in the Southern States has been examined, but contain nothing of value on Scott county. The annual volumes of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Riley's *School History of Mississippi*, and Lowrey and McCardle's *History of Mississippi* have also contributed their share of information on the subjects treated herein.

APPENDIX A—JONATHAN TARBELL'S LETTER TO GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

(Taken from House Mis. Docs. 52, pt. 2, 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., pp. 274-287.)

HILLSBORO, Scott County, Mississippi. January 14, 1869.

Sir: The following observations with reference to reconstruction in Mississippi are respectfully submitted by one who has been a resident of this State since the surrender, and who, starting out with the olive branch of conciliation, after careful and impartial study of the situation has arrived at the conclusions herein set forth:

I. THE MISSISSIPPI ELECTION IN JUNE, 1868.

As to my own county there was no pretence of a free expression of the voters at the election upon the ratification or rejection of the constitution. There was from the beginning a studied disregard of the merits of the issue, as of truth, and a feeling of terror created which few could resist. Merchants refused and granted favors according to political opinions; goods were refused for cash, even, because proposed buyers were republicans; threats that republican freedmen should have no employment, and should be suffered to starve, were universal; and promises of provisions and employment to those voting the democratic ticket were equally extensive; certificates were sometimes given to freedmen for voting the democratic ticket commending them to democrats for protection and employment; there were threats and warnings of violence for voting republican; prominent citizens publicly declared to crowds of freedmen that for voting republican the whites would be their enemies forever; numbers of whites and blacks voted, through fear, against their wishes, and not a few of both went away to weep literally, bitter tears for the humiliation; social and business ostracism and violence were threatened to whites; to vote the republican ticket was urged as a lasting disgrace to their innocent families; democratic committees were appointed professedly as challengers, but, in fact, these committees devoted their attention to watching for future persecution those who voted republican. On the part of the whites there were apprehensions of personal violence, of loss of property by fire and in other ways, and of being broken up. To white men it was common to say "You vote the republican ticket, and the back of my hand is to you as long as you live;" "We have no use for a man who votes republican;" "If you vote republican you are our enemy," &c., &c. Republicans are held to be enemies to the people and country, and on this theory, if not restrained by federal power, every republican in the State would be driven out, or silenced in death or by intimidation. The writer was hanged in effigy at the county seat, only a few yards from the court house, and "thus perish all Yankees" was the universal sentiment. The effigy was allowed to hang over the sidewalk of the principal street in the town for a week, and I am not aware that leading citizens took any steps to take it down or condemn the perpetrators.

On the part of the freedmen there was no threat, fraud, annoyance, persecution or oppression to which they were not subjected. Taxes were collected pending the canvass, and these were a source of infamous frauds and impositions upon the freedmen. The damnable inequality in the assessment of taxes was made peculiarly effective. Real estate is made to pay about one-fiftieth less than capital, while the poor freedmen, without one cent of property, save the rags inherited from slavery, pay a poll tax of from \$8 to \$15, often more than the real estate owner pays on five hundred acres of land. One man in my county pays a State tax of only about \$25 on 15,000 acres of land. The tax on the freedmen was persistently and defiantly declared by every white democrat in the county to have been imposed on them by and for the exclusive benefit of Yankees. Farmers, merchants, lawyers, ministers of the gospel, one and all, solemnly, sacredly, day by day, assured the freedmen, on their hopes of heaven and on their honor as men, that these taxes were levied and collected by and for Yankee carpetbaggers! Hundreds of freedmen voted the democratic ticket on these assurances, and to this day they believe this blistering, sweeping fraud, for it was nothing else, and worked as wickedly, and with the same intent, as the fraudulent naturalization papers in New York or Philadelphia.

In this work local preachers were conspicuous, as they have been during all the troubles for years past. One preacher warned freedmen of the risk of violence if they voted republican. He said he would not harm them, but there were those, who in the woods, fields, or highways, would shoot them down. He was so anxious for secession that if the South did not secede he wanted Mississippi to secede; if Mississippi refused, he wanted Scott County to secede; and if Scott county refused, he declared that his plantation should secede. During Sherman's march through here, in 1863, this preacher carried his shot-gun as a bushwacker, but escaped with his life to become a base enemy of peace after the war. Another preacher, urging the work of "spotting" republicans during the election, as he phrased it, and believing defeat of the constitution to be the end of republican rule in Mississippi, triumphantly declared, "Old Tarbell will have to make tracks soon." Troops sent here at our request to protect us during election, talked openly and publicly of their desire to "shot radicals and niggers," and democrats boasted of their good understanding with Gillem. There was in my county a complete reign of terror, and the election was a criminal farce, it was openly, glaringly, impudently so.

I have it from the lips of some of the best citizens of this county—men of character and of extensive business operations—that they acted with the democrats to save their persons from insult and violence, their property and business from destruction, and their families from starvation.

With suitable assurances of protection, necessary to both white and black, the evidence of hundreds will prove the foregoing to be scarcely a shadow of reality; in short, that the election was a base, deliberate, damnable swindle, which a general, looking through Andrew Johnson's eyes, could not perceive.

Without loyal juries, loyal officers, and loyal courts, complaints are idle. Indeed, men did not dare, nor do they dare now, make complaints of the frauds and threats by which they were deprived of the privilege of voting according to their preferences.

That the constitution was rejected through fraud, threats, intimidations, and violence, or the fear of violence induced by those opposed, there is no sort of doubt.

II. THE PARTY IN CONVENTION.

The republican State convention of Mississippi, held November 25, to take action on the situation, was the most fully attended, the most intelligent, the most respectable in character, and the most dispassionate in judgment, which has assembled in this State, and in all respects would compare not unfavorably with like assemblies in any State of the Union.

This body had a choice of three propositions: (1) to begin the work of reconstruction *de novo*; (2) to reconvene the constitutional convention; (3) ratification of the constitution. These propositions were well understood and thoroughly canvassed prior to the meeting. All except four to six delegates were unalterably for ratification, while those opposed were irreconcilably divided among themselves on material issues. On motion of one of the minority ratification was unanimously adopted. It is the deliberate and unbiased policy of the party in Mississippi, based on a knowledge of the situation. The action of the convention made the party virtually and in honor a unit on this question. It is almost so in fact, for nineteen-twentieths of the republicans of the State earnestly, most earnestly, appeal with outstretched arms to Congress for this measure of justice and security. It is the only hope of the loyal citizens of Mississippi. It is their ark of refuge and deliverance.

III. WHAT IS NEEDED.

Prompt action by Congress. A decided manifestation of power and of an unalterable will to carry out its views; such action as will convince anarchists that further hostility is useless, and that it will bring with it sure penalties and more stringent measures. This suggestion, made upon the most mature study of the situation, may not at first impress you, but a personal experience would satisfy you that I am unquestionably right.

The plain, simple declaration by Congress that reconstruction *shall* proceed upon a loyal basis, and by loyal men, absolutely beyond all contingencies, and the work will almost complete itself. This would be the most popular declaration of Congress or President since 1860. It would cheer the hearts of the loyal nation and strengthen Congress, as it would silence rebels and traitors, because it would destroy their hopes and bring to the side of Congress thousands who are waiting for this very demonstration of its determined purposes.

More definitely what is needed is:

1. A State government and a republican State policy, to be secured by
2. Ratification, with the test oath for the legislature and for all officers from governor to constable, to be incorporated by Congress as a permanent feature of the Constitution.
3. The entire official patronage of the State and of the federal government therein in the hands of loyal men, thus far wielded against us.
4. The Freedmen's Bureau, with a reliable agent in every county, *not* subject to the control or influence of General Gillem.
5. The removal of General Gillem, and the substitution of a frank, honest, liberty-loving general.
6. Time to educate both whites and blacks and in which to give republican officials experience before another election in the State or counties; not less than one or two years.

IV. RATIFICATION AND THE PARTY IN MISSISSIPPI.

Ratification is the only way to peace and the success of those principles in Mississippi which republicans advocate. Its defeat will be the hopeless prostration of the party and cause, and the triumph of democrats, rebels and traitors. They so believe and labor. An election in any reasonable time, which any other plan than ratification presupposes, would result in our signal defeat. We should be beaten today, or until freedmen and loyal whites are educated and taught personal independence, say within a year, by 50,000.

A provisional government, with reconstruction partially or wholly *de novo*, was fully considered by the republicans of Mississippi, and ruled out as utterly inadmissible for many reasons, but mainly because it would secure the triumph of the rebel democracy. In the work of reconstruction, thus far, republicans have endured a degree of obloquy, insult, ostracism, and a "hell upon earth," which Con-

gress should not again impose upon them. They have performed their part honorably and well, and they ask that it be ratified, so that they be not deprived of its fruits by fraud and violence.

Defeat of ratification will and can inure only to the advantage of the enemies of the cause. They so consider it, and hence every democrat, rebel, and traitor in the State is opposed to ratification.

If there were no other plea for ratification, the hostility of General Gillem affords a conclusive one. A "wolf in sheep's clothing" to the republican party, he is a dangerous and fatal enemy, through whom the Freedmen's Bureau has been rendered comparatively useless, and but for whom opposition to ratification would be rendered to such insignificance of numbers and proportions as to wholly cease to be heard or felt.

That an election within a year or two will bring disaster will be palpable when the following facts are considered:

1. *It is a fact, as alarming as it is serious, that we are losing control of the colored vote in large numbers of the interior counties.* This arises from several causes. Loyal citizens, white and black, were subjugated during the election in June, through intimidation, by the disloyal element. *That subjugation is perfect and complete, and will remain so until, by education and protection, we give courage and personal independence to loyal voters.* It must be understood that the southern loyal whites comprise less than one-tenth of the white population, and that of these ninety-nine out of every hundred are as timid as the blacks, through fear of the old leaders, as intolerant, dictatorial, and threatening as in the days of slavery. There has been little protection to loyal citizens of either color. The Freedmen's Bureau, under Gillem, has been a sad disappointment; yet, as unsatisfactory as he made it, it was the only source of justice and of refuge for the blacks; and now, right upon the election of Grant, whom the freedmen have been taught to believe their friend, the bureau, to their dismay, is wholly withdrawn. They do not understand it and its effects are fearfully depressing. They see the offices all in the hands of those from whom they have no hope, and by whom, particularly in the matter of taxes, they have been cheated, robbed, oppressed, and persecuted. Under all these circumstances the freedmen, in their despair, are settling back under the control of their late owners, with whom they are seeking the best terms they can to meet present wants.

2. *It is not true that since the presidential election changes have taken place in our favor,* though there are those disposed to join us, but at present *they dare not.* The same intolerance and ostracism exist as heretofore, and the same plans and purposes inspire leaders, which prevent changes. To secure places and employment freedmen are forced, in their uneducated and helpless condition, to subserviency; and whites equally lack the nerve to face the old contempt and scorn which have so long ground them down. *I speak from cases within my own knowledge.* With the most sincere personal regard for those republicans who advocate another reference to the people, the idea that we have had any accessions, or that we can gain in another election at an early day, I regard as the wildest chimera of the generous impulses and of the zeal and enthusiasm of those gentlemen, based on their truly chivalric sentiments, while at the same time I consider their hopes as utterly, wholly unreal as the "baseless fabric of a vision," and built of "such stuff as dreams are made of." *Democrats have lost no votes, but have consolidated what they had, and added others by means they know so well how to employ.*

V. THE REBEL DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME.

As the constitution, right or wrong, was to be defeated at any cost, and at all hazards, so now, ratification is to be prevented at whatever sacrifice of truth and justice, if the three worlds combine to forbid the consummation of the outrages by which the constitution was apparently rejected. Defeat of ratification is the first step. This involves another reference to the people, which all parties under-

stand perfectly well insures disloyal ascendancy. Universal amnesty and universal suffrage are anticipated and with these the rebel triumph, *par excellence*, will be complete. They so consider it. Defeat of ratification and another appeal to the people, with universal amnesty and universal suffrage, and Mississippi democrats will laugh to scorn constitutional amendments, civil-rights bills, and all the guarantees Congress, in its wisdom, may provide. They have learned how, with impunity, to create a reign of terror and trample on the rights of the masses, and they will continue to do so under such generals, and with disloyal men in office, as at present.

* * * * *

Past offense blotted out, with universal amnesty and universal suffrage, and another election, are to be the signal for new wrongs, for then, as they say, "the future will be in our own hands, when we can manage things in our own way"—a very peculiar way. Woe then to republicans, especially of northern origin.

Such is the programme which southern democrats expect to achieve, if at all, through the magnanimity, generosity, and liberality of those whom they hate with an undying hatred, and exhaust the three worlds for terms wherewith to express their curses. May Heaven, in its infinite wisdom, forbid the consummation of these designs!

VI. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE ELECTION.

An essential sequel to the democratic programme are the recent professions of acquiescence in the result of the election. These I am compelled to declare a delusion and a snare, made to deceive too confiding and too generous republicans. There is no change of purpose on the part of southern politicians; nor are the masses freed from their thralldom to the old leaders. That the bitterness of the campaign is less obnoxiously manifested by some, that many indulge in complacent declarations, and that in a few localities there is a marked change of feeling, is undoubtedly true; but these facts prove only that Congress has it in its power, right now, to establish loyalty permanently in Mississippi. There is now most certainly a golden opportunity to strike a blow for freedom in this democrat-ridden State, if Congress has the courage to discard theories and look to practical results. The complacency since election is mostly diplomatic only, made to deceive and mislead Congress. This is perfectly well understood among the people, and as a matter of fact. Thousands are watching the course of events, ready to join either side, whichever is likely to control the State. It rests with Congress to bring these to our side by promptly giving power to loyal citizens. These are facts and not fancies.

* * * * *

God forbid that Congress shall be subjected to the shame of confiding in what is here known to be deliberate duplicity.

VII. THE SITUATION NOT APPRECIATED.

Every letter and newspaper from the north, before and since the election, and every speech in Congress, convince me more and more that the situation is not understood. Notwithstanding events of the last eight years, and the revelations of the late political campaign, neither the character of the southern democracy nor the spirit which animates them seem at all comprehended.

* * * * *

This spirit stands opposed to Congress and the loyal nation (as it is the enemy of the loyal south) as bitterly today as at any period of its existence. Essentially, the whole southern people, swayed by this spirit as by the imperious will of a single mind, are more compact, better disciplined, and more resolute of purpose at this

moment than at the height of the rebellion. Such is the enemy with which Congress has to deal—an enemy unequalled in strategy, and can no more be conquered by magnanimity, conciliation, liberality, and generosity than a robber can be persuaded by soft words.

The McClellan policy is no more appropriate now than in 1862. The rebellion was suppressed by superior numbers and hard blows, and the obstacles to reconstruction and to the rights of the loyal inhabitants of Mississippi will have to be overcome, if at all, in the same way. The treachery and massacres in Georgia and Louisiana were not the result of sudden or exceptional causes, but of a deep and pervading sentiment, which only Congress, regeneration, and the immigration of over-ruling numbers and influence can overcome.

* * * * *

The following facts are significant illustrations of the foregoing:

Laborers, white and black, are spoken of as "*hirelings*," and a man calls his employes "*my hirelings*," showing that laborers are held to be only a degree removed from slavery.

Life is lightly regarded, even among whites; and the life of a freedman is no more seriously thought of than that of a dog.

The south could have been plunged into a war at a moment's notice, upon the signal of the old leaders, at any time during the presidential campaign. It was a subject of daily talk and desire. War was preposterous, of course; but the leaders do the thinking for the people, and the tooting of their horn would have caused a general uprising more unanimous than before.

Refugees from Georgia, Louisiana, and Arkansas are in this State, and known to the people as such where they are staying. Indeed, in many instances they boast openly of the number of freedmen they had killed in the States whence they absconded, and yet they are as safe from exposure and arrest as if they were in the bottomless ocean.

The diabolical misrepresentations of the democratic press with reference to the massacres and outrages in Georgia, Louisiana, and Arkansas, are before the country. They help to estimate the value of democratic representations in regard to our election. The papers of the widest circulation, most popular, and greatest influence, are the Metropolitan Record and Brick Pomeroy's Democrat.

The republicans of Mississippi are such because the principles of the party are liberal and progressive; but they regret to declare that the extension to Mississippi of so-called magnanimity and liberal measures would restore rebels and traitors to power in the State, and Jeff. Davis and his co-traitors to their old seats in the United States Senate. We rejoice at every indication of a better feeling in the south, God knows there is need of it. That there are here and there individuals and localities exhibiting more friendly sentiments is undoubtedly true. We hail these manifestations with delight, and would do all in our power to strengthen them and to develop others; but for the loyal nation to throw itself into the embrace of the southern democratic anaconda because of these exceptional instances of returning reason, we could but regard as an act of unexampled folly.

Defeat of ratification, a prospective election, with universal amnesty and universal suffrage, will be practically to us an "unconditional surrender" to our oppressors. Indeed, we think it would be a desertion of those who have borne the banner of Congress "through evil as well as good report." It would also be the sacrifice of republican principles because their beneficent designs for the benefit of the masses would be denied in spite of constitutions and laws.

VIII. CHIVALRY ILLUSTRATED.

In a large number, if not in a large majority of the counties of this State, the espionage upon the poor whites and freedmen, and their subjugation to the dominant class, are as complete as in the days of slavery, and will remain so beyond

the hope of alleviation, save through the active, positive, protecting character of republican measures.

In several counties republicans did not, for fear of violence, dare to assemble as a party to send delegates to the republican State convention at Jackson, and those counties were for that reason unrepresented on that occasion. A republican in one of those counties had kept his house barricaded for months.

The organization of the Ku-Klux-Klan is still in active existence, with regular meetings and parades.

* * * * *

One of the Klan has stated within a month that the writer would be "shot through the head within a year." One of the Klan has also within a few weeks offered to be one of ten to take Rev. James Lynch, the gifted colored preacher, orator, and editor, out and hang him. A prominent citizen recently nominated Jeff. Davis for President, amid the plaudits of the crowd. Except at a few points, I am not aware that the feeling towards republicans has improved, or that their condition has been ameliorated.

A presiding elder, in a discourse to the freedmen on the Sabbath during a revival meeting, warned his hearers against Yankees, who, he declared, were here to rob the people of their money. *He* begged for money on that very occasion! A local preacher said he did not care to preach to republicans, and would not send his children to school with the children of republicans. His wife declared that she had sooner associate with Satan than with a Yankee.

A pious lady of the first families said, "I wish the Yankees and niggers were all in hell, and I had the privilege of toting lightwood to keep 'em warm."

Another lady, member of the church, and also of the first families, expressed a wish for "a pair of shoes from Ashburn's hide!"

The head of one of the Christian denominations of the State, while on an official tour, stated to the writer, as a result of his travels, that there was a growing hostility to the government. Many, he said, had declared to him the wish that the flag of Great Britain might be raised in our harbors, as they would enlist under it. He said further, "I hate your government."

I have now resided in this State with my family for nearly three years, in which time, though my wife is a member of the church, only one minister has been in our house, and he only twice. His wife excused herself from calling through fear of persecution. Other ladies have sent the same excuse for not calling.

Attending an educational meeting with my family a lady who is said to possess rare refinements, very emphatically declared in our hearing that Yankees would stand a good while before she would give them a seat. While the writer was making some remarks, a well-dressed gentleman said, "Hear the G— d— Yankee lie;" and he was silenced only by some friends, who he knew would use their pistols, which they exhibited to him, if he did not subside.

For a letter entirely temperate and moderate in its tone, addressed to Senator Doolittle, and published in the northwest pending the presidential election, a leading democratic paper advised the people of my country to catch me and give me a coat of tar and feathers. No one doubts that, had Seymour and Blair been elected, the recommendation would have been assassination, which would have been promptly acted upon as suggested.

Another paper, referring to the republican State convention in November, speaks of it as a "convention of dogs." Another, referring to the committee sent by that convention to Washington, speaks of those gentlemen as "the committee of thieves." Republicans opposing ratification receive applause only from those who thus denounce us!

The attempt to assassinate Hon. Geo. C. McKee, M. C. elect, is described by the democratic press as a "difficulty;" and one of the widest circulation and most popular in the State makes this infamous remark with reference thereto: "The best way to treat such fellows, when they get too insolent, is to give them a genteel

cowhiding and then turn them loose." So every murderous assault upon republicans in the State has been a "difficulty," and every murder of loyal men has been in "self-defense;" and such will be the case so long as disloyalty commands a premium, and meets with no impediment, by holding all the offices and power in the State.

I take the following from a democratic newspaper of the most extensive circulation and influence in the State:

"The State of Massachusetts, the home of Beast Butler, the land of miscegenation, freeloivism, Puritanism, amalgamation, witchcraft, female politicians, child-murdering school teachers and white-cravated psalm-singing, loud-praying, bank robbers, and adulterers."

* * * * *

An attempt to enforce the laws and the arrest and punishment of lawbreakers are denounced as "molestation in peaceful pursuits," "murder," "robbery," "tyranny," and "oppression;" and the officers of the law as "outlaws and thieves."

Another:

"Washington letter-writers seem to think there is a probability that Congress will remove the disabilities of the southern people and allow all to vote hereafter. If they do that, and then do away with the infernal 'iron-clad' oath, we will be able to manage our home affairs pretty successfully. To take the ballot from the intelligent white men of the country and give it to the ignorant and depraved black man was the most damnable outrage ever committed by any civilized men, and we think it high time they were ashamed of it."

The democratic press generally speaks of republicans as liars, thieves, scalawags, scoundrels, dogs, mangy curs, skunks, jail-birds, escaped convicts, and the like.

A leading citizen, merchant, church member, and politician, said: "I wish I had a keg of powder under the federal Capitol, with a lighted torch in my hand, as I would willingly go up if I could blow up Congress."

The following is from the democratic organ *par excellence* of Mississippi:

"We believe we know something of the spirit of the people of Mississippi. Their property is gone—their honor is untarnished and they intend to preserve it. It will never be said that any soldier who followed the flag of the confederacy violated his parole. It will never be said that any citizen of the southern States violated his obligations to obey, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. But at the same time history will never record that this people tamely submitted to the rule of their former slaves. They are without arms. They cannot resist the authority of the United States, but they will not obey, the decrees of a negro government except at the point of the bayonet.

"We have reason to believe that the negroes and white demagogues intend to impose upon Mississippi, if they have the brute numbers, a constitution similar to that which the same ignorant and depraved classes sought to fasten upon Alabama, which, in addition to other monstrous features, levies a tax upon the white people to build up a gigantic system for the promiscuous mixing of the two races. It will require a standing army to enforce such a system of government in this State, and when it is withdrawn the people will rise up as one man to demolish it. Nothing but federal bayonets gleaming over the heads of people who have no means of resistance will avail to hold them in subjection to such a dynasty. Whenever the bayonets are removed they will cut down the groves and tear down the altars of the negro Baal."

A popular and widely-circulated democratic paper says:

"To be a republican and a gentleman at the same time and reside in this State is impossible. Republican means thief here."

A more bitter warfare upon "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags" than before election is also the declaration of the democratic press, but I forbear to quote further. Do not believe the foregoing are exceptional and exaggerated. They are a few only of thousands, of daily repetition. The most ultra paper secures the largest circulation and greatest influence, as he is most worshipped who is most hostile to loyal men.

These are representative saying and papers. Is it for one moment supposed that a people entertaining sentiments like those above quoted can be intrusted with power in the present condition of the loyal inhabitants of Mississippi?

In God's name let not Congress be deceived. The freedom and the rights and the prosperity of loyal citizens—everything dear to a free man—depend upon the action of your honorable body.

IX. THE TRUE BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

* * * * *

Certainly if Congress expects to build up a loyal party in Mississippi loyal men must be sustained, protected, and preferred. Hitherto, the contrary has been the practice, and not a few loyal men have been compelled to deny their principles to secure protection and justice. Notwithstanding they have been submitted to humiliations, insults, robberies, and outrages, looked upon and treated as public and private enemies by nine-tenths of the white population, and unable to appeal to the flag of the government with certainty of protection, the loyal citizens of Mississippi has as a body patiently, firmly, and faithfully awaited the "good time coming," which they pray God Congress will not now deny to them at the instigation of rebels and traitors who seek to accomplish their ends by fraud and violence, which can be consummated only by perjury.

After three years' residence and extended travel in several States, I have yet to hear of the first man, woman, or child with regret for the personal sacrifices and losses in the attempt to secede, save as complaints against the Yankees for not "letting them alone," which shows that the hearts of these people are not right on this question, and that they are not to be trusted with power to influence its settlement.

The republicans proper of Mississippi are for *ratification* first, last, and all the time. The small minority opposed are not authorized to speak for or in the name of their brethren, and are acting against the expressed will of the party, and, however honorably intended by them, against its best interests. Their opposition certainly has not the sympathy of any number of republicans of the State, and it can derive support only from their enemies, to whose interests its agitation alone can contribute, and in which, if successful, it will inevitably culminate.

* * * * *

I believe that the plans of the republicans of this State will secure the end at which we all aim in the shortest time and by the shortest route. If Congress denies these, farewell magnanimity, farewell conciliation, farewell liberal and progressive measures, farewell all the rights which a man who is a man holds most sacred, for all these will be denied us. The Union men of Mississippi ask for peace and protection through a State government in loyal hands. Granted these, they promise for the State the most glorious progress and unwavering devotion to liberty.

Appealing to the whole history of slavery, to the experience of the last eight years, and to recent and constant developments which appear daily in Washing-

ton and northern papers in support of the foregoing, I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. TARBELL.

HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL,
Member of Congress.

APPENDIX B—PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC WHITE MEN'S PARTY OF MISSISSIPPI.

(Furnished by William N. Haynes, of Macon, Mississippi, and published in House Mis. Doc. 52, pt. 2, 40th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 266.)

Whereas the people of the ten seceding States, through their constitutional conventions, have declared their ordinances of secession to be null and void; and whereas the constitutional conventions of said States recognized the abolition of slavery as previously declared by the federal government, conceded to freedmen the protection of life, liberty, and property common to citizens, and conform their organic laws in all respects to the constitution of the United States; and whereas said States have elected representatives and chosen senators in Congress in accordance with the laws of the United States, who have presented their lawful credentials to Congress only to be denied their Constitutional rights of representation in that body; and whereas the republican majority now controlling the legislative power of Congress have established a military despotism over ten States of the Union, in violation of the federal Constitution, in defiance of the executive and judicial departments of the government, threatening the Executive with impeachment, and the Supreme Court with an abrogation of its constitutional powers, and showing a bold and persistent design to maintain their partisan power by the entire overthrow of constitutional liberty; and whereas the popular struggle upon those great questions has resulted in a union of all conservative men, without regard to former party ties, and in the establishment of a powerful and successful opposition to this hateful despotism under the lead of the national democratic party, whose principles and policy on these questions are in strict accordance with the political views of this convention: Therefore,

Resolved, That we hereby adopt the name and principles for which the said democratic party are contending, and that we will do battle under the banner until the Union is restored to constitutional basis, and all the States are recognized as equals in the great confederation of American sovereignties.

Resolved, That the military bills of Congress for the reconstruction of the so-called rebel States are unconstitutional and oppressive in all their particulars, and should be resisted by the unanimous voice of the people at the ballot-box.

Resolved, That for the purpose of accomplishing this result the people of Mississippi are recommended to organize a central democratic association, with similar associations in every county, and in all the principal cities and towns in the State, and to this end this convention will appoint a central committee of nine, resident at the capital of the State, with power, to complete this party organization in all respects.

Resolved, That the nefarious design of the republican party in Congress to place the white men of the southern States under the governmental control of their late slaves, and then degrade the Caucasian race as the inferiors of the African negro, is a crime against the civilization of the age, which needs only to be mentioned to be scorned by all intelligent minds, and we therefore call upon the people of Mississippi to vindicate alike the superiority of their race over the negro and their political power to maintain constitutional liberty.

APPENDIX C.—CENSUS STATISTICS OF SCOTT COUNTY, 1860-1880.

TABLE I. OWNERS OF SLAVES AND NUMBER OWNED IN 1860.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 and under 15	15 under 20	20 under 30	30 under 40	40 under 50	50 under 70	70 under 100	100 under 200	200 under 1000	Total Owners	Total Slaves
64	46	36	21	25	33	14	12	21	34	23	25	11	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	368	2,959

TABLE II. POPULATION STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

	WHITES			INDIANS	BLACKS			TOTAL POPULATION				
	Native	Foreign	Total		Free	Slaves	Total	Native	Foreign	Total	Total 21 and upward	
											Male	Female
1860.....	5,102	78	5,180	.....	2,959	2,959	8,061	78	8,139	.....	.....
1870.....	4,650	30	4,680	.....	3,167	3,167	7,817	30	7,847	1,444	1,438
1880.....	6,601	32	6,633	80	4,132	4,132	10,813	32	10,845	2,156	.....

TABLE III. POPULATION OF MINOR CIVIL DISTRICTS.

Districts	1860			1870			Totals
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	
I. Hillsboro.....	2,692	1,634	1,058	2,514	1,459	1,055	2,787
II. Sherman Hill.....	1,536	701	835	1,479	550	929	1,614
III. Morton.....	2,036	1,400	636	1,446	971	475	2,829
IV. Ludlow.....	672	404	268	777	495	282	1,032
V. Danascus.....	1,403	1,011	392	1,631	1,203	428	1,683
Laketown.....							190

TABLE IV. NATIVITY OF POPULATION, 1870-1880.

	NATIVE BORN										FOREIGN BORN										Total Population
	Mississippi	Alabama	South Carolina	Virginia and W. Virginia	Tennessee	Georgia	North Carolina	Louisiana	Kentucky	Arkansas	Total, Native	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France	Switzerland	Italy	Sweden and Norway	Total Foreign	
1870.....	4,713	1,346	202	207	134	697	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,817	5	8	1	2	11	2	1	.....	30	7,847
1880.....	8,253	1,174	283	132	99	555	190	32	25	9	10,813	7	7	1	8	3	2	.....	1	32	10,845

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

	IMPROVED LAND, IN FARMS					UNIMPROVED LAND IN FARMS			FARM PRODUCTS													
	Number	Acres	Value Farms, Including Land, Fences and Buildings	Value Farms, Implements and Machinery	Cost Fertilizers, 1879	Total Acres	Woodland and Forest Acres	All other Acres	Tobacco	Acres in Cotton	Cotton, Bales	Acres in Corn	Corn, Bushels	Acres in Wheat	Wheat, Bushels	Acres in Oats	Oats, Bushels	Rice	Sweet Potatoes	Irish Potatoes	Peas and Beans	
1860..	531	38,463	\$1,598,199	\$68,134	.....	157,043	106,484	5080	375	.....	7,152	.....	296,085	.....	3,120	.....	1,088	1,598	64,878	4,917	24,837	.....
1870..	1,088	38,613	355,877	9,372	.....	147,197	106,484	5080	.....	.....	3,560	.....	131,775	.....	1,607	.....	9,450	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1880..	1,332	40,427	677,989	53,343	\$4,540	.....	133,038	14159	11044	16282	6,227	15664	193,013	111	729	5,129	50,370	98,731	47,604	2,247	6,053	

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS—Continued.

	LIVE STOCK AND ITS PRODUCTIONS										MISCELLANEOUS						
	Horses	Mules	Oxen	Milch Cows	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of Live Stock	Butter, Pounds of	Wool, Pounds of	Value of Animals Slaughtered	Hay, Tons of	Value of Orchard Products	Value of Market Garden Products	Beeswax, Pounds of	Honey, Pounds of	Manufactures, Home-made, Value of
1860..	1,446	802	1,138	2,636	5,977	3,616	17,169	\$362,799	64,419	6,937	\$83,472	.....	\$121	\$1,655	833	11,040	\$14,733
1870..	988	567	956	2,246	3,296	2,399	11,429	282,038	3,466	160	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1880..	1,326	759	1,125	3,047	4,557	2,315	20,575	243,677	97,586†	5,814*	.....	5	3,419	.....	225	2,858	.....

* Spring clip of 1880.

† Made on farms in 1897.

TABLE VI. NUMBER, SIZE AND TENURE OF FARMS, 1860-1880

Size of Farms	1860	1870	1880	TENURE IN 1880		
				Rented for Share of Crop	Rented for Fixed Money Rental	Cultivated by Owner
3 and under 10 acres.....	20	166	39	23	12	4
10 and under 20 acres.....	66	310	231	171	42	18
20 and under 50 acres.....	188	364	279	132	60	87
50 and under 100 acres.....	137	112	211	14	7	100
100 and under 500 acres.....	117	103	510	29	29	452
500 and under 1000 acres.....	3	3	49	3	3	46
1000 and over.....	0	0	13	.....	.....	13
Total number.....	531	1,058	1,332	369	153	810

TABLE VII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

NOTE—These statistics embrace the entire manufacturing and mechanical productions of the county including "neighborhood industries."

	Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Materials	HANDS		Cost of Labor	Value of Products
				Males	Females		
1860.....	5	\$27,000	\$14,750	31	.....	\$7,440	\$29,500
1870.....	24	36,200	43,480	58	.....	7,825	.....
1880.....	7	9,400	6,780	14	.....	2,264	11,497

TABLE VIII. SELECTED MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

	Kinds of Establishments	Number	Capital in Dollars	AVERAGE HANDS			Amount Paid in Wages Annually	Cost of Raw Material Annually	Value Products Annual
				Male	Female	Total			
1860.....	Lumber, sawed.....	5	\$27,000	31	.....	.....	\$7,440	\$14,750	\$29,500
1870*.....	{ Leather, curried.....	2	2,500	.....	.....	2	250	7,160	10,200
1880†.....	{ Lumber, sawed.....	5	9,400	.....	.....	22	2,700	16,200	25,200

* All Industries with a gross annual production of less than \$10,000, all "neighborhood industries," and saw mills producing less than \$2,500 annually are omitted.

† All counties having a gross production of less than \$100,000, all "neighborhood industries" and all other industries producing less than \$20,000 annually were omitted in 1880.

TABLE IX. CHURCH STATISTICS, 1860-1870.

	BAPTIST			METHODIST			LUTHERAN			TOTAL			
	Number	Sittings	Value of Property	Number	Sittings	Value of Property	Number	Sittings	Value of Property	Organiza- tions	Edifices	Sittings	Value of Property
1860.....	8	2,350	\$2,900	4	575	\$700	2	500	\$1,000	14	14	3,425	\$4,800
1870.....	9	2,500	.....	5	1,000	.....	3	600	.....	17	17	4,100	5,700

TABLE X. SCHOOL STATISTICS, 1870.

ATTENDED SCHOOL				CANNOT WRITE												
Total	White		Colored		White					Colored						
	Male	Female	Male	Female	10 and under 15		15 and under 21		21 and over		10 and under 15		15 and under 21		21 and over	
					Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
593	273	309	7	4	4	2	2	2	15	6	188	198	222	241	541	615
																2,036

TABLE XI. TAXES AND PUBLIC DEBTS, 1860-1880.

	ASSESSED VALUATION			TAXATION				PUBLIC DEBT			
	Real Estate	Personal Property	Total	State	County	City, Town or Village	Total	County		Town, City, etc.	
								Bonded Debt	All Other	Bonded Debt	All Other
1860.....	\$1,314,953	\$3,774,896	\$5,558,979	\$6,078	\$17,522	\$600	\$26,200				
1870.....	707,666	513,162	1,220,828	4,644	10,052	460	15,156	\$2,500	\$500		\$300
1880.....	538,257	355,707	893,964								

RECONSTRUCTION IN LAFAYETTE COUNTY.

BY MISS JULIA KENDEL.¹

INTRODUCTION.

Lafayette county was established February 9, 1836, and was named in honor of a distinguished friend of the American Republic, the Marquis de Lafayette. It is one of the dozen counties carved from the Chickasaw Indian lands in northern Mississippi four years after the treaty of Pontotoc in 1832.

This county is located in the north-central part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Tate, Marshall, and Benton; on the east by Union and Pontotoc; on the south by Calhoun and Yalobusha; and on the west by Panola. It has an area of 720 square miles. The principal streams are Tallahatchie river on the northern and Yockana river on the southern borders of the county, and Yellow Leaf, Clear Cypress, and Tobyubby creeks.

The general topographical features of the county are rolling uplands, rising in some parts to abrupt hills. There are also many fertile valleys in its borders.²

¹ This contribution was prepared in the Historical Seminary of the University of Mississippi in the session of 1910-11.

Julia Lestine Kendel is the daughter of Alfred Hunter and Julia Guinn Kendel, of Oxford, Mississippi. Her father is a druggist of that town. She was born April 27, 1892, in Vicksburg, Miss. When she was an infant her parents removed to Oxford, Miss. She attended the Oxford Graded School from which she graduated in 1906. She then entered the University of Mississippi, taking the B.S. degree in 1911. She was teacher of History in the Water Valley High School 1911-12, and in the Columbia High School, 1912-13.

Miss Kendel is of English descent, her great grandparents having been born at Kendel Hall, England. Her grandmother on her father's side was a Miss Roddey and belonged to an old South Carolina Quaker family. Her grandmother on her mother's side was a Boyd and belonged to a prominent family of Tennessee. Her grandfather on her father's side was one of the oldest citizens of Lafayette county and served as Confederate postmaster at Oxford during the war.—EDITOR.

² Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 256.

The streams are not navigable, and, therefore, afford no transportation facilities. The public roads in the county are in a "passable" condition, affording means of communication from the railroad towns to inland points. The Illinois Central railroad runs through the county from north to south, affording railroad transportation.

Oxford, the county seat, is situated on the Illinois Central railroad and in 1910 had a population of 2,014. It is a good business point, and has long been the home of many of the most prominent families of the State. It was selected as the site of the State University in 1844, and has since been a noted educational center. Other towns and villages are Abbeville, Taylor, College Hill, Paris, Caswell, and Lafayette Springs. The first town in the county was Wyatt³ on the Tallahatchie. It was built about twelve miles from where Oxford now stands. Another product of the flush times was Eaton, an extinct town, which was located about fifteen miles west of Oxford. A ferry at this place enabled the settlers of Lafayette and Panola counties to cross the river on their way to and from Oxford, where many of them traded. There were one or two stores erected at that place.⁴

The storehouse on the west side of the public square, in Oxford, now (1911) occupied by McElroy's Bon Ton Cafe, is the only building that was left after Grant's raid through Oxford. The buildings of the University of Mississippi are very historic sites. They were alternately used as hospitals by both the Confederate and Union armies.⁵

The building, known as the University Training School, which was burned Tuesday, April 25, 1911, is one of the most historic sites in the State. In 1838 it was incorporated as the Union Female College, and in 1854 passed into the control of the Cumberland Presbyterian church. This was the second institution of learning chartered within

³ The place was settled about the time of the Chickasaw session and flourished before Oxford had been named or Holly Springs thought of. The town was incorporated by an act of the legislature in 1838. Wyatt was the shipping point for a larger section of the county and boats plied between this place and New Orleans. The town began to decay rapidly after the financial crash in 1837. It is now extinct. A battle was fought on the site of the old town in November, 1864. See Dr. Riley's "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, V, 349.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 348-49.

⁵ See Mrs. Johnson's "The Civil War Hospital at the University" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XII, 94-106.

the limits of the Chickasaw session, and was at one time the oldest female school in the State with an unbroken history.

Another historic school in the county was the North Mississippi College located at College Hill. It was incorporated in 1840. A quarter section of land was donated for a site and a temporary building was erected. It was opened for the reception of students January, 1840. Rev. H. Herd was president; D. L. Russel, vice-president; J. B. Clansel, professor of mathematics; and P. A. Yancey, tutor. Full collegiate courses were offered in Latin, Greek, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, engineering, mental and moral philosophy. This school continued to flourish for several years. It made some reputation and drew students from adjoining counties. The University of Mississippi, which was opened in 1848, only six miles away, overshadowed it and the war of secession destroyed it. Its property is still used as the site of a public school. At one time it was under the charge of Professor Jeffreys, a man of considerable scholarship.⁶

This county was early settled by a superior class of planters who from the natural fertility and productiveness of the soil soon became prosperous and wealthy. These early settlers came from Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama.⁷ Among the most prominent pioneer families were the Craigs, Jones, Phipps, Kendels, Bufords, Tankersleys, Wileys, Pegues, Thompsons, Andrews, Avents, Shaws, Isoms, Triggs, Buckners, and Fees.

The most conspicuous ante-bellum leader in Lafayette county was Jacob Thompson, who exerted a great influence in county, State, and national affairs. Strictly speaking, however, his career does not belong to the reconstruction period, as he removed from Oxford to Memphis upon his return from Europe, whence he fled after the fall of the Confederacy. He was born in Caswell, North Carolina, in 1810. In 1835 he removed to Pontotoc, Mississippi, where the United States land office had just been opened. His first political speech in the State was made at Pontotoc at a public meeting which was called to endorse the union bank bonds amounting to \$5,000,000 and to instruct the representatives in the legislature to vote for the proposed endorsement.

⁶ Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 362.

⁷ See Appendix, Table IV.

In 1839 Mr. Thompson was first elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket with Hon. Albert G. Brown. In 1840 he took an active part in the presidential campaign between Van Buren and Harrison. He was renominated for Congress in 1841 and was elected. He was renominated for each succeeding election thereafter and was triumphantly elected until 1851, at which time his sixth term closed, making for him twelve years of continual service in the house of representatives. For one term he was chairman of the committee on public lands and for two terms of the committee on Indian affairs.

In 1852 he was a delegate to the Baltimore convention, and was one of the committee who officially notified Franklin Pierce of his nomination for president. The latter, during his presidential administration, tendered to Mr. Thompson the consulship to Cuba, but it was declined. Governor Brown, of Mississippi, also offered him the commission of United States senator on the resignation of R. J. Walker, but he declined this also. He was a supporter of Buchanan for president in 1856. After the election, Mr. Buchanan tendered him a cabinet position, inviting him to take charge of the interior department, which position he accepted. As secretary of the department he infused new life into it. When Mississippi seceded from the Union, January 9, 1861, Mr. Thompson returned to his home in Oxford. During the war he served the Confederacy in various capacities. After the fall of Vicksburg, he represented Lafayette county in the State legislature for two terms.

In 1864 he was sent to Canada on a secret mission by President Davis, but this mission failed, and in 1865 he started back to the Confederacy. He was implicated in the assassination of Lincoln, and a proclamation was made offering a large reward for him and others. He spent several years in Europe and on his return removed from Oxford to Memphis, Tennessee, where he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. He was a zealous supporter of all movements for the advancement of religion and education. He served as a member of the board of trustees of the University of Mississippi from 1844-1864. He died in Memphis in 1885.⁸

⁸ Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, II, 898; *Congressional Biographical Dictionary*.

In 1860 the total population of the county was 16,125; in 1870 it was 18,802; and in 1880, 21,671.⁹ There seems to have been a large negro exodus after 1880, as the total colored population had fallen off almost 13 per cent by 1890.

The leading occupations in the county were agriculture and stock-raising. Crops of corn, cotton, wheat, oats, sorghum, and potatoes were produced.¹⁰ Apples, pears, peaches, figs, and small fruits generally do well. Much of the county is well-timbered, the oak, ash, pine, poplar, walnut, beech, hickory, and cypress being most common. There are numerous grist and saw mills in the county. There is little manufacturing, however,¹¹ as the wealth of the county lies in its live-stock and products of the soil.

There were a number of eminent and wealthy planters and slave owners in the county before the war.¹² Peyton Jones, who was probably the most wealthy man, owned about 100 slaves.

Lafayette county furnished her share of men to defend the Southern cause. The exact number of enlistments from this county cannot be ascertained, as many of its citizens joined companies from other counties. Early in 1860 a local military company of 135 men was formed at Oxford. It was named the "Lamar Rifles," in honor of Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, then a member of Congress. It became a part of the 11th Mississippi regiment that saw service in the glorious old army of Northern Virginia, which won fadeless laurels on so many bloody fields.

In the spring of 1861 the excitement due to political events seriously interrupted the work of the State University at Oxford. Many students withdrew before the close of the session, to enlist in the Confederate army. They organized on the campus the "University Grays," a company which rendered valiant service in the war.

Capt. William Delay's infantry was organized at Oxford and went to Pensacola, Florida, forming part of the 9th Mississippi regiment. Captains Tom Robinson and W. F. Payne also organized companies. Jacob Thompson's cavalry force with Jacob Thompson as captain,

⁹ See Appendix, Table III.

¹⁰ See Appendix, Table V.

¹¹ See Appendix, Tables VII and VIII.

¹² See Appendix, Table I.

and J. T. Chandler, James Cook, and Reuff, as first, second, and third lieutenants respectively, was also organized at Oxford.

The county suffered greatly from the war. Wherever the Union army passed it left only poverty and destruction. All the stores in Oxford were destroyed and five residences in that town were burned.¹²

Grant's army came through the country, burning as they went. Live-stock was taken and all provisions destroyed or carried away. Many houses were plundered and destroyed. There were skirmishes at Oxford, December 1 and 13, 1862; August 9, 1864; and at Abbeville, August 23, 1864.

The sources of reconstruction history in Lafayette county are the *Oxford Falcon*, a weekly paper, which was published at the county seat during the reconstruction period; the official records of the county; private letters; and interviews with old citizens.

PARTIES AND PARTY LEADERS.

By the passage of the reconstruction acts of 1867, suffrage was conferred upon the freedman, and the majority of the white people of the South were disfranchised. As a result, white people found themselves confronted by a majority of registered negro voters. The Democratic party was composed of native whites and a few negroes under white influence. The Democrats hoped to win over enough negroes, or to prevent them from voting, to secure the balance of power.

The Republican party was composed of three classes: negroes, carpetbaggers (Northern men who settled in the South after the war), and scalawags (Southern white men who allied themselves with the Republican party). There were two classes of scalawags—those who had belonged to the Old Line Whig or the Republican party before the war, and had opposed secession, and those who had joined the Republican party after the war for the spoils of office. The former class was composed of men who were Republican from principle. The carpetbaggers came to the South after the war principally for the spoils of office. The remaining class embraced the negro, who had been given the right to vote and hold office by the reconstruction acts of 1867. So far as can be ascertained, there were no Independents in the county.

¹² The names of only three of these residences can be ascertained, as follows: Jacob Thompson's, Jas. Brown's, and J. L. Kendel's.

As the negroes formed the largest element of the Republican party the sole aim of its leaders was to see that they exercised the right of suffrage and that their votes were cast for the party. The carpet-baggers and scalawags both set to work to heighten the ambition of the negroes and to array them against all other white people. These leaders addressed the negroes at their meetings and instilled into them hatred of their old masters.

Among the most conspicuous leaders of the Democratic party in Lafayette county were Col. L. Q. C. Lamar, Col. R. W. Phipps, Col. A. J. Buford, Joe Stowers, W. A. Graham, Capt. Wm. Delay, Sam Thompson, Judge J. M. Howry, O. F. Bledsoe, Capt. J. H. McKie, Colonel Skipwith, E. R. Belcher, W. S. Neilson, Col. H. A. Barr, C. B. Howry, Dr. T. D. Isom, Major G. F. Gee, B. F. Goolsby, W. B. and J. H. Gilmer and J. H. Welch.

L. Q. C. Lamar was one of the most brilliant and influential citizens of Lafayette county. He was born in Putnam county, Georgia, in 1845. He was graduated from Emory College, at Oxford, Georgia. He then removed to Oxford, Mississippi, and became adjunct professor of mathematics in the University of Mississippi in 1850. Twice before the war and once after the surrender he was a member of the faculty of that university. He served as a member of the lower house in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth Congresses, retiring January 12, 1861, to enter the Mississippi secession convention. In that convention he served as chairman of the committee that drafted and reported the ordinance of secession. He served the Confederacy as a lieutenant-colonel and as colonel of Moot's regiment of infantry. In 1863, he entered the diplomatic service, being sent on a special mission to Russia. In 1865 he formed a partnership with E. C. Walthall and located at Coffeeville for the practice of law. In the following year he again became a member of the faculty of the University of Mississippi.

In 1872 he was reëlected to represent his district in the lower house of Congress, and took his seat in 1873, his political disabilities having been removed. In April, 1874, he delivered in the house an eloquent eulogy on Charles Sumner, who had died March 11. This eulogy attracted instant attention throughout the country. In 1877 he was elected to a seat in the United States Senate. From this date his services were distinctly national, and his career loses much of its local significance. In 1885 he resigned his seat in the Senate to accept

the position of secretary of the interior in President Cleveland's cabinet. In December, 1887, he was appointed to a place on the United States Supreme Court, which position he held until his death in 1893.¹⁴

Col. R. W. Phipps was born in Marshall county, Tennessee, October 11, 1833. In 1852 he graduated from the University of Mississippi with first honors and practiced law in Oxford until May 14, 1861, when he entered the Confederate service. He was colonel of the 19th Mississippi regiment, and participated in all the battles in which the army of northern Virginia was engaged, from the plains of Manassas to the Appomatox Courthouse. He was elected a delegate to the constitutional convention in 1865, and was a member of the legislature from 1865 to 1867. Colonel Phipps was an active and prominent leader of the Democratic party. He became mayor of Oxford in 1870, was also at one time president of the Democratic executive committee of the county, and grand cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan.

Col. A. J. Buford was one of the Old Line Whigs who joined the Democratic party. He always defended conservative principles with an untiring energy and devotion. He used all his energy to effect the overthrow of the carpetbag rule. With the exception of a brief term in the legislature from 1861-62, Colonel Buford lived a retired life as a planter, showing no aspiration for political office.

Capt. Wm. Delay was also an Old Line Whig, but was not tainted with one whit of radicalism. In 1832 and 1833 he was a private soldier in the Black Hawk war and assisted in capturing Chief Black Hawk. In 1845 he was appointed postmaster at Oxford, and again in 1855 he was appointed to the same position and served until 1860. He was a soldier in the Mexican war, and at the outbreak of the war of secession he organized a company and entered the Confederate service. He took an active part in the Democratic meetings and in the elections that were held in the county. He served as probate clerk in 1865. In the latter part of the reconstruction period his health failed and his active service ceased before his county was free from the dangers of carpetbag rule.

There was no braver nor more fearless leader of the Democratic party than Capt. Sam Thompson. By his fearlessness in advocating the principles of the "white man's party" he was often brought into

¹⁴ *Biographical Congressional Dictionary*; *Mayes' Life of Lamar*; *Goodspeed's Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 1091.

serious trouble with the Republican leaders. He was the editor of the *Oxford Falcon*, one of the strongest Democratic papers in the State. He was a gallant soldier in the Confederate service, and was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. By his fearlessness he aided very much in subduing the negroes and their unscrupulous white leaders.

Judge J. M. Howry came to Mississippi from Virginia in 1836. In 1841 he was elected circuit judge of his district. In 1844 he was appointed on the first board of trustees of the university. He later served two terms in the State senate. Judge Howry took an active part in all the Democratic meetings and was an ardent supporter of the Democratic party.¹⁵

Mr. Joe Stowers was reared in this county, his early life having been spent on a farm. He was private secretary to Jacob Thompson while secretary of the interior. Under President Buchanan Mr. Stowers was an enthusiastic leader of the Democratic party and usually took a prominent part in the torchlight processions of the reconstruction period. He represented the county in the legislature in 1878.

Capt. J. H. McKie and Mr. J. C. Davis represented the county in the lower house of the legislature in 1871. Captain McKie was at one time a member of the Democratic executive committee of the county.

Col. H. A. Barr was born in Abbeville, South Carolina, and came to Mississippi in 1842. He affiliated with the Whig party in his early days, but after the war he adhered to the principles of the Democratic party. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1865, and was regarded by his people as a safe and reliable counselor. He died February 18, 1899.

Dr. Thomas Dudley Isom was born in Maury county, Tennessee, September 5, 1816. In 1835 he came to Tullahoma, Mississippi, and was sent by a company with a stock of goods to trade with the Indians on the ridge. He settled his store on the present site of Oxford, and was the first merchant in that place. He remained there until the Indians were removed, when he returned to Tennessee, and studied medicine. He returned to Oxford in 1839 to practice his profession. In 1861 he entered the Southern army as surgeon of the 17th Missis-

¹⁵ A sketch of Judge Howry's life will be found in Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 963-64.

issippi volunteer infantry. In March, 1862, he opened a hospital at Oxford, and received and treated over 1500 soldiers from the battle of Shiloh. In 1863 he was appointed on the army medical board and continued in this capacity until the close of the war. He was a member of the secession convention of 1860 and of the constitutional convention of 1890.¹⁶

Colonel Skipwith, W. S. Neilson, E. R. Belcher, O. T. Bledsoe, Maj. G. D. Fee, and Rev. J. N. Waddell¹⁷ formed an honored group of advisers. They were all good Democrats, and exerted a great influence over the younger men of the county.

One of the most prominent and enthusiastic young leaders of the Democratic party was Charles B. Howry. He was born at Oxford in 1845, and was educated at the University of Mississippi. He served the Confederate cause throughout the war, attaining the rank of captain. After the surrender he studied law under L. Q. C. Lamar, and practiced in his home town with such success that in 1870 he was appointed State's attorney for one of the largest districts in Mississippi by Governor Alcorn, but this position he declined. He was elected to the legislature in 1880 and reelected in 1882, serving on the judiciary committee and as chairman of the committee on state universities. Like his distinguished father, he was for many years a trustee of the State university. From 1885 to 1889 he was United States attorney for the northern district of Mississippi. He served for some years as a member of the Democratic State executive committee from the State at large, and in 1890 was chosen to represent Mississippi on the national Democratic committee.¹⁸ He was appointed by President Cleveland on the United States court of claims, which honored position he now fills with great credit.

Mr. B. F. Goolsby, of Lafayette Springs, was a native of Georgia and a man of the highest type. He was justice of the peace at Lafayette Springs when the war closed and held that position until the military authorities took charge of the county. He rendered valuable services to the county during the days of reconstruction. He was leader

¹⁶ Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 1006; also *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XII, 97-98.

¹⁷ See *Historical Catalogue of the University of Mississippi*, 1846-1909, 73-74.

¹⁸ A more detailed sketch of Judge Howry's life will be found in Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 964-65.

of the Democratic Club and grand cyclops of the Lafayette Springs Ku Klux Klan. He moved from this county to Texas in 1870.

Messrs. W. B. and J. M. Gilmer were natives of the county, having been reared a few miles west of Toccoola. They both enlisted in the Confederate service and were members of the Democratic club at Lafayette Springs. Mr. W. B. Gilmer was elected to the legislature in 1873 and served until 1875. They were both men of a high sense of duty.

Mr. J. H. Welch, of Lafayette Springs, was another prominent leader of the Democratic party, in the eastern part of the county. He was a member of the Democratic club and an officer in the Ku Klux Klan. He was justice of the peace for that beat in 1873, and served later on the board of supervisors and in the State legislature. In recent years he has also served a four years' term of the county.

Joseph Taylor, Jim Nelson, Jack Carter, William Frierson, and Newton Chilton were the leading negro Democrats. They scorned the influence of the carpetbaggers and scalawags and stood true to the "white man's party." They deserve the admiration of all true hearted Southern people. One or more of these negroes would always make brilliant speeches at the Democratic gatherings.

The leaders of the Republican party were DeWitt Stearns, S. V. W. Whiting, C. N. Wilson, E. M. Main, A. W. Patterson, Capt. J. H. Pierce, Perkins Borrum, Jasper Wyatt, Tobe Humphries (colored), Bob Stock (colored) and Alexander Phillips (colored).

DeWitt Stearns was appointed by Governor Ames in 1869 as probate judge. He was originally from Pennsylvania, but came to Lafayette county from Memphis, where he had been a candidate for prosecuting attorney of the municipal court of Memphis and was defeated by the Democratic nominee.¹⁹ He was president of the board of supervisors in 1870 and was appointed by Ames in the same year as charcellor. He took an active part in all the Radical meetings, and was a carpetbagger and "South hater." He was, however, the most respectable carpetbagger who came to this county. In 1875 he used his influence for the Democratic side, his brother-in-law, G. Wiley Wells, a candidate for Congress, being supported by the Democrats in opposition to a negro by the name of Bruce. Stearns regarded Bruce as an unprincipled man.

¹⁹ *Oxford Falcon*, November 27, 1869.

E. M. Main was appointed sheriff by Ames in 1869. He was an immoral, intemperate carpetbagger of the vilest nature. It is said that he was imported into Lafayette county, Mississippi, from the North by way of Crittenden county, Arkansas, where he had been a major in the Arkansas militia and a "boss devil" of outrages in that county. He was editor of the *Oxonian*, the official Radical organ of Lafayette county, and remained in the county about a year and a half.

A. Wormley Patterson represented the personification of corruption and rottenness. He was one of the vilest carpetbaggers who ever came into this county, "the pink of perfection," as he was called in ridicule. He was United States marshal for the northern district, and was one of the leading lights of the Republican party. He instilled into the negroes hatred of the whites, but the negroes as well as the whites knew that they would better keep their hands on their pocketbooks when he was around.²⁰ He went from Oxford to Iuka to reside, to the great joy of the Oxford people. He was always the ringleader in all the negro meetings, and was the Union League organizer. The Democrats called him the "sweet scented skunk."²¹

S. V. W. Whiting was a carpetbagger who came to the county from Arkansas. He was a "prowling spy" and filled at one time the office of tax assessor. He also represented the county in the legislature in 1870. In order to promote discontent among the negroes he was always at their meetings and told them it was the carpetbaggers who gave them their rights.

C. N. Wilson was an English carpetbagger who also came to this county from Arkansas. He was appointed by Ames in 1870 as mayor of Oxford. He was a man of the same type as Stearns, though some say he was generously disposed in his official conduct for the good of our people.²²

Captain Pierce was a carpetbagger of low character. He organized Union Leagues and associated with the negroes on terms of social equality.

Tobe Humphries, Bob Stockard, and Alexander Philips were the leading Republican negroes. They always made speeches at the Radical meetings. Philips was a half crazy school teacher and preacher who came into the county after the war.

²⁰ This statement was made by Capt. W. C. Neill, of Oxford, Mississippi.

²¹ *Oxford Falcon*, November 27, 1869.

²² This statement was made by Judge C. B. Howry, Washington, D. C.

Perkins Borrum was a scalawag who had lived in the county before the war. He taught a negro school, but never held any office, though he took an active part in all Republican meetings.

W. Vaughn, another scalawag, was elected by the Radicals to the State legislature in 1870. He voted against allowing the people to elect their county officials.

Judge R. A. Hill, who had been a member of the Whig party before the war, was an influential Republican leader throughout the reconstruction period. He was born in North Carolina in 1811; moved from Tennessee to Tishomingo county, Mississippi, in 1855, and engaged in the practice of law. In 1858 he was elected probate judge, which position he held even during the war "by the consent of both sides," but with a restricted jurisdiction. He was appointed judge of the United States court of Mississippi, May 1, 1866. After the war closed, Judge Hill was appointed chancellor of his district by Provisional Governor Sharkey. He held this office until he was appointed on the Federal bench by President Johnson, who knew him personally.²³

Judge Hill was opposed to secession and considered it most unfortunate, but no man did more to alleviate the sufferings and sorrows that fell on his people as a result of this step. He was an honest, upright man, and had none of the traits common to most scalawags. Unionists and secessionists had equal confidence in him, and he knew no difference between them in his sympathies. There were few judges who passed through such troublous times and met with so many difficult problems as did Judge Hill. He was district judge with the powers of circuit judge, in the northern district of Mississippi, in which no other judge exercised jurisdiction until May 1, 1889. He took an active part in framing the constitution of 1868, though not a member of the convention. For a number of years he was a trustee of the university. His impartial and enlightened course on the bench secured for him universal confidence and respect.²⁴

²³ See Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi*, I, 922-29.

²⁴ At one time several persons were indicted in his court on the charge of complicity in Ku Klux outrages. He proposed that if they "would agree to an entry on the record of a verdict of guilty by the jury (not a plea of guilty, as that would stop the defendant) that a nominal fine would be entered upon the defendants entering into recognizance, with good security, under a penalty of \$1,000, that they would keep the peace toward all citizens of the United States for a period of two years. This was done, the defendants discharged . . . and the matter ended. It is not believed that any fines were paid." See *ibid.*

ORGANIZATIONS—POLITICAL AND SEMI-POLITICAL.

The Republican organizations were a Federal garrison of soldiers, the freedmen's bureau and the loyal league.

The first Federal troops arrived in Oxford June 23, 1868, under the command of Colonel Newton, and remained there until after the election. In 1869 another body of troops was stationed at Oxford, under the command of General Chaffee and Lieutenant Pickett. They remained in the town until 1875, when they left for Nashville and Humbolt, Tennessee. They served no good purpose, though they were very orderly and their officers were recognized by the best people of the county. A difficulty arose in the market house in Oxford between a Mr. Langley and a soldier by the name of Pot Delvin, belonging to the garrison, in which the latter got knocked down with a two pound weight. Mr. Langley immediately mounted his horse and left town. Occasionally disturbances arose between the negroes and the garrison. In June, 1869, a detachment of soldiers was sent from Holly Springs to Oxford to quiet an excitement growing out of the shooting of Alexander Philips (colored). That was before the arrival of the second body of troops that was stationed at Oxford. Lieutenant Scott soon organized an effective police force, which cleared the streets of an armed negro mob. Mr. J. W. Morrow and Alvis were arrested by the soldiers and carried to Holly Springs. The charges against them were assault and battery upon a freedman. They were released on trial and the case turned over to the civil authorities.²⁵ Sam B. Ellis, a young white man, was arrested by the soldiers and taken to Jackson where he was released on a \$1,000 bond. The charge against him was assault upon a freedman. He was later ordered to report to the sheriff of this county, and was finally acquitted.

All complaints made to the freedman bureau were reported to the soldiers. They were encamped in Oxford on the lots now occupied by the public school and by the residence of C. A. McCharen.

In 1868 a squad of soldiers was sent from Holly Springs to arrest parties suspected of waylaying and killing George McCollough

²⁵ *Oxford Falcon*, December 18, 1869.

While marching along the road they were fired upon from ambush, and two of them were wounded and three killed.

A company of negro militia was organized in Oxford in 1870, with Maj. C. N. Wilson, captain, Anderson (colored), first lieutenant, George Berley (colored), second lieutenant.

In 1867 Nelson G. Gill came from Holly Springs to Oxford to organize loyal leagues, but the simple negroes took his face as an index to his character and shunned him. When leagues were finally organized their membership was composed chiefly of negroes, with only enough whites in control to train the new voters in the exercise of their political rights. At a meeting of the Democratic Club of Casewell precinct, held at Pegues' Mill on July 4, 1868, the following resolutions were adopted and incorporated in their constitution.

There exists throughout the State, a secret organization, known as the loyal league, the object of which is to oppose the liberty of the South and well calculated to check its prosperity and derange its best interests, therefore, be it Resolved, without intending to prevent, restrict, or otherwise interfere with the free exercise of the franchise right of any person or persons recognized by the government as possessing such right, that we will not employ, countenance, or support in any manner, any man, white or black, who is known to be a member of the loyal league, or a sympathizer with its members, or its principles.

Resolved, That we do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to protect those men who, by their words and actions, prove themselves true to the welfare of the Southern people, and resist all overtures made to them by the conspirators who are making every effort to destroy the rights of a free people, and that we will guarantee to them our willing support in preference to any one whose opinions and designs may conflict with the laws of the land and the prevailing sentiment of justice and order.

Resolved, That we feel a high degree of respect for the colored man who sympathizes with the Southern people, and who upon all occasions proves himself a friend to them.

Resolved, That we will denounce and discountenance, as an enemy, every colored or white man who is known to act in accordance with the principles of the loyal league or the Radical party.

W. T. IVEY, Chairman.

C. M. THOMPSON, Secretary.²⁶

The leagues were led by such negroes as Tobe Humphries, Bob Stockard, Mack Avant, Jake Watson, Add Brown, and a few white men, who associated with them, such as George Jones, Captain Pierce, A. W. Patterson, Nelson G. Gill, E. M. Main, C. N. Wilson, and Perkins Borrum.

²⁶ *Oxford Falcon*, July 11, 1868.

The leagues held their meetings at negro churches and in the woods. Addresses were made to them by the carpetbaggers and scalawags. They operated chiefly around Oxford where the garrison was located. The home now owned by A. H. Kendel in Oxford, then owned by Captain Pierce, United States marshal, was one of the places where league meetings were held. Captain Pierce is said to have given the negroes a wine supper in this house.²⁷ The negroes were always congregated around this place, for they thought Captain Pierce could shield them in every way. They changed their minds, after Pierce's humiliating experience with Colonel Lamar in the Federal court room, as will be seen in another part of this narrative.

The most effective Republican organization in the county was the freedmen's bureau. At first it had its headquarters in Oxford at the house now owned by J. B. Roach.²⁸ Captain Rossiter was the first agent. This organization was given charge of all matters pertaining to refugees, freedmen and abandoned lands in the county. It exercised jurisdiction over controversies in which freedmen were involved, either with one another or with the whites. It was not difficult for the people in the county to get justice from the bureau, as they could always win their point by the use of money, and the agent was easily influenced by public sentiment. A large number of negroes on Mr. Buck Avant's place had agreed among themselves to quit work and leave the plantation. As soon as Mr. Avant found this out he came immediately to Oxford and reported the matter to Captain Rossiter, the agent of the bureau. With the aid of a small sum of money Mr. Avant succeeded in winning the agent over to his side. Captain Rossiter, who was also a preacher, then went out and preached to the negroes in the old Andrews chapel. The next Monday morning every negro was at his post.

In the latter part of 1869 the imported freedmen's bureau agent was removed and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Captain James Cook, an old citizen and at that time mayor of Oxford. In some instances it was a benefit to the citizens; for when a negro reported an imaginary grievance to the freedmen's bureau Captain Cook was quick to see that the "would be" claim for protection was

²⁷ He also gave a wine supper in 1875 to H. R. Pease, a carpetbagger who had been superintendent of education and United States Senator from Mississippi.

²⁸ This statement was made by Mrs. E. A. Thompson.

false. He would give the white people justice without political prejudice.²⁹ The freedmen's bureau did not give much trouble in those days; for the white people ran things very much as they pleased, and almost invariably had control of the agent of the bureau. The Ku Klux Klan looked after the turbulent negro and the bad white man.³⁰

The Ku Klux Klan was organized in Lafayette county in 1867 by Gen. N. B. Forrest, who came from Memphis especially for that purpose. The first meeting was held in the building now occupied by the law office of James Stone and Son.³¹ It was the most perfect political organization ever formed in the county, and did more than all other agencies combined in counteracting the pernicious influences of the loyal leagues, and the more infamous scalawags in the county.

The late Col. R. W. Phipps, of Terria Cera, Florida, was grand cyclops of the order and had perfect control of its movements. There were dens located at Oxford, Caswell, Lafayette Springs, Wyatt, and one between Taylor and Orwood.

Capt. W. T. Ivey was cyclops of the Caswell klan, and did as much as any other man in the county to overthrow negro rule. Mr. B. F. Goolsby was cyclops of the Lafayette Springs klan until 1870, when he removed to Texas. Mr. J. H. Welch was exchequer and in 1870 took the place of Mr. Goolsby as grand cyclops. The Lafayette Springs klan was composed of fourteen men.³² They did very much effectual work in ridding the community of bad negroes.

These organizations were composed of the leading men of Lafayette county, who faced death and imprisonment in order to rescue their civilization, when the county lay helpless amid ruins and ashes. They wore long, white robes, extending to the top of their shoes. On their breasts were the letters "K. K. K." and large tin buttons. On their heads was a white cap, from which fell a piece of cloth extending to the shoulders. There was an opening for the eyes and mouth. They always had some kind of hideous design on the covering for the face. This disguise was made of domestic and could be concealed

²⁹ This statement was made by A. H. Kendel.

³⁰ These statements are made on the authority of Col. R. W. Phipps.

³¹ This information was obtained from Mr. C. B. Neilson.

³² This den was composed of the following worthy citizens of the community: B. F. Goolsby, C. F. (Jump) Jones, J. R. York, Carl McAlpin, A. J. Pridmon, Charles Loveless, Howell Welch, Sr., W. A. J. Welch, J. M. Gilmer, Dave Hodge, W. R. Segler, J. H. Welch, J. L. Broom, and Dr. Winston. This information was gotten from J. H. Welch.

under their saddles. They did not go by name, but by number, and when they were engaged in their work no one ever spoke; orders were given by signals. They soon had control over all the turbulent negroes and evil whites. The negroes believed that they were evil spirits, or the spirits of departed dead soldiers, who had come back to renew the struggle for the cause in which they had lost their lives. They carried rubber bags under their robes, whereby they were enabled to drink a gallon or more of water to the unspeakable terror of the superstitious negroes. They had false heads, and would take them off and ask the negroes to hold them while they fixed their backbones. They also had false hands which would enable them to shake hands with a negro and ride off, leaving the hand behind. This frightened the negroes every much. The clansmen would break up negro meetings by suddenly appearing in sight or by making hideous noises.³³

The negroes organized military companies in various parts of the county, and greatly annoyed the white people. The Lafayette Springs klan decided to put a stop to these disturbances. They notified the captain, Jake Watson (colored), that his company must disband and stop disturbing the community, but he paid no attention to the order. One night the klan went to Watson's house near Denmark, where there were three or four other negroes with Watson, and demanded that they come out of the house, which they refused to do. There happened to be a bundle of broom-straw in the chimney corner and one of the Ku Klux set a match to it, thinking it would make the negroes come out, but it did not. When the house was a flame all over, they came out fighting with anything they could get their hands on. One made his escape through a heavy "fire of buck and turkey shot." They succeeded in getting three of the negroes, two were badly shot, and the other was slightly wounded. Then they went to Mr. Loveless's place to get Sandy Newberry, first lieutenant of a company of the negro militia. The next morning they found him under a bale of unginned cotton. They took him out and gave him two hundred lashes with a stirrup leather. Then they went to J. L. Boone's place and waited on Jake Boone, the second lieu-

³³ One thing which terrified the negroes more than anything else was the rattling of chains, which they thought was done by evil spirits (statement of Mr. C. B. Neilson).

tenant, giving him a thrashing. The captain, Jake Watson, was dangerously shot and the other officers badly whipped. They were told what they might depend upon if they attempted to drill again.³⁴

On March 24, 1870, a negro was shot and a negro cabin was burned near Mrs. Simmons place, about twelve miles east of Oxford. A large number of negroes of that neighborhood had assembled at night from time to time armed and equipped as a regularly organized military company, and had drilled until a late hour. When they were ordered to stop this, some of them replied that "the militia was to be called out and they were drilling their company so they could get into service and draw pay." Others said they were preparing for a war against the white people. The night the shooting occurred it seemed that eight or ten men in disguise went to the cabin of one of these negroes, called the captain out and whipped him until he promised he would not attend any more of these meetings. The disguised men then visited another cabin, which it is said they burned, wounding the negro occupying it. There were some gypsies camping in this community, and the negroes cursed the young men in a violent manner and charged them with belonging to the Ku Klux Klan. A few nights after this affair one of the young gypsies was waylaid and fired upon several times by three negroes.³⁵ The people of that community were never molested again by the negroes after these whippings. These and a few more minor raids caused most of the negroes to leave that part of the county.

One of the most atrocious murders that was ever committed in the State occurred in the southeastern part of the county, near where Delay now stands. The family of Mr. Sam Ragland was attacked one night by a band of negroes, which resulted in the killing of Mrs. Ragland and the wounding of Mr. Ragland. Mr. Ragland had been an overseer on the Price plantation and naturally the negroes had always disliked him. These negroes had long been considered the most vicious slaves in the county. It is supposed that they went to his home for the purpose of robbery, knowing that Mr. Ragland had some money in the house. They seem to have been led and planned by some one who was acquainted with Mr. Ragland's affairs, as they

³⁴ This information was obtained from J. H. Welch.

³⁵ *Oxford Falcon*, April 2, 1870.

knew exactly where he had the money concealed. It is thought that some unknown "low-down" white people were connected with the killing. Mr. Ragland was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and the negroes knew it. They entered his room before he awoke and they dragged him and his wife out of the bed. The house was very dark, and in the excitement Mrs. Ragland got into the yard. She was later found, crouched in the chimney corner, with her head severed from her body. Mr. Ragland was left for dead, but finally recovered.

This affair aroused the citizens to blood heat and they soon traced the guilty parties, and they were justly dealt with. By the prompt action of the Ku Klux Klan in this case, it deterred others from committing similar acts. For a long time it was dangerous to go fishing in Yockana, provided one had a horror of coming in contact with a human skeleton when alone; for it was no uncommon thing to get a fishhook fastened on the bones of a dead negro. The body of a negro who lived on Mr. Ragland's place was once found in the river, and on the bank was his lunch basket and fishing line, which conveyed the idea that he had gone fishing and had "unfortunately fallen in." One day, so they say, the cook went to the spring about dinner time for water and was never seen again. In this way the Ku Klux Klan made way with a number of negroes. We are told that from seventeen to thirty negroes were drowned.³⁶

No member of the klan in this county was ever brought to trial. One time six citizens of College Hill were arrested by soldiers and first taken to Oxford and then to Holly Springs. Their names were Robert T. Young, W. T. Turner, James N. Robertson, Pack Fernandez, Miles Bright, and ———— Wilson. The last named was released in a few days. The charge against them was that they went to the plantation of Mr. J. R. Bowles and provoked a difficulty with the freedmen on his place. While they were in Oxford, a young Democrat, Mr. C. B. Neilson, was paid \$10 to guard them and to guarantee that they would be turned over to the officers the next morning. He took the \$10 and sent part of the men to the hotel to spend the night and the others he took home with him. The next morning the prisoners were in their place of confinement.³⁷ The object of the arrest

³⁶ This information was obtained from J. R. Barry, J. H. Welch, A. H. Kendel, W. T. Ivey, and C. B. Neilson. It is said that a hole in Yockana river was filled up with the bodies of dead negroes.

³⁷ This information was obtained from Mr. C. B. Neilson.

was to terrify the people and prevent them from voting against the constitution. Through the influence of Mr. William Webb, of Memphis, a friend of the commanding officer at Holly Springs, the men were soon released without being brought to trial.

While a family of Wilsons was preparing to move to California it lost a sum of money. It was thought that the negroes had stolen it. Several disguised men, supposed to be Ku Klux, went to the home of the accused negroes and whipped them severely, trying to make them tell where the money was. Spencer Boatner and John Butler were arrested and brought to Oxford for trial as being connected with the whipping. The negroes said they did not see them, but saw their mules. They each proved an alibi. The money was not stolen by the negroes; one of the members of the family had it.³⁸ Whenever there were persons in the county whom the Democrats wanted to get rid of the Ku Klux Klan would notify them by dropping a note. If they did not take heed and leave, the Ku Klux Klan would visit them.³⁹

There was a reward of \$5,000 offered for the conviction of any member of the Ku Klux Klan or the cyclops of a den; at that time there was an old man living in the county between Oxford and Lafayette Springs, by the name of "Stomy" Jordan, who wanted to join the klan so that he might reveal the secret and get the reward. He approached one of the citizens of the county, Mr. A. J. Buford, telling him he desired to become a member. Mr. Buford told him that he was not a member but would inform the klan about him. The Ku Klux Klan readily understood his intentions. They informed him that to become a member it was necessary to take three degrees, and they appointed a place of meeting for him to come for the first degree. Finding him at the designated place, they blindfolded him, and taking him to the woods, laid him across a log and whipped him with a stirrup leather. When they had finished, they told him to come back the next night to take the second degree. When he got off some distance he holloaed to the men that if he was not there the next time, not to wait for him but go on with their work. The old man soon afterwards moved from the county to Pine Hill, Arkansas.⁴⁰ There were also organizations of Democrats that worked without disguises and accomplished great

³⁸ This information was obtained from John Butler.

³⁹ Mr. C. B. Neilson.

⁴⁰ This information was obtained from J. R. Barry, E. D. Anderson, J. N. Slough, and J. H. Welch.

good. At Lafayette Springs a band of twelve or thirteen men, who had been Confederate soldiers in the late war, was organized under the leadership of W. B. Gilmer as captain and J. H. Welch as lieutenant. They patrolled the county for about three years at least once a week and disarmed the negroes by taking their guns, pistols and ammunition. Sometimes they had to resort to harsh means to accomplish their purpose.⁴¹ The James Z. George Club was another Democratic organization. Its members were always on hand at Radical meetings to reply to the Radical speeches. One time a scalawag named Kennedy was speaking in an old wagon and said, "While I stand under the great Union flag," in the meantime one of the Democrats of the James Z. George Club who had slipped up behind him and placed the Democratic banner over his head, exclaimed, "No, you are not, you are under the banner which you swore a month ago to support."⁴² This Club won many negroes over to the Democratic ticket, since they were afraid of its members and generally did as they directed.

A military company was organized in Oxford, September 17, 1870, with M. D. Vance, captain; J. C. Robinson, first lieutenant; O. L. Carter, second lieutenant; and R. W. Black, third lieutenant.

On June 22, 1871, occurred an incident which gave Colonel Lamar a great deal of annoyance at intervals during the remainder of his life. The Federal government had instituted in the district court at Oxford a number of prosecutions under the Ku Klux law, and the court room was filled with strangers, prisoners, witnesses, deputy marshals and soldiers. It was a time of much excitement. Many of the persons present were reckless, disreputable, dangerous, turbulent and aggressive, expecting to have the backing of the United States authority. One of these men, Whistler by name, was a witness for the United States government. He was about thirty years of age, illiterate, ill-looking, and intoxicated.

Colonel Lamar's law office opened on the same stairway and passage as the Federal court room. As he approached it on this occasion he found a scene of excitement. Whistler was beating a citizen of Oxford named Kelly, an old man also under the influence of liquor, and unable to defend himself. This excitement was so great that the

⁴¹ This information was obtained from J. H. Welch.

⁴² This information was obtained from Mr. E. D. Anderson.

judge ordered a deputy marshal to arrest the parties and turn them over to the mayor, who had police powers. The court was engaged in hearing a bankruptcy case. In the meantime Kelly appealed to Colonel Lamar for protection, to which Whistler replied by swearing. Colonel Lamar applied to the mayor to have Whistler arrested, but the arrest was not made. When the deputy marshal reached the scene Whistler had his pistol out and was trying to shoot Kelly.

As some of the Ku Klux cases were being taken up, Colonel Lamar went to the court room. The deputy marshal came into the room later, and when Colonel Lamar saw him he asked what had been done with Whistler. The deputy said that he had walked off before the mayor's eyes with some soldiers. The colonel replied that he should have been held for insulting and threatening peaceful citizens. The deputy said he would arrest him again and give him up to the town authorities. Colonel Lamar replied that "the town authorities seemed powerless in the presence of the soldiers and that he would speak to Judge Hill about it."

Later there was to be a cessation of proceedings before the court, and Colonel Lamar, seeing Whistler in the room, arose and made a motion that the court arrest him and place him under a peace bond. Whistler, who was heavily armed, then approached Colonel Lamar. Colonel Lamar was not armed, and said to Judge Hill, "I ask your honor to make this man take his seat and keep it until I finish my statement." Then he seized a chair and raised it saying, "If the court won't make you, I will." Various officials scattered about the room shouting "Arrest Lamar." Colonel Lamar protested that he had done nothing to justify arrest. The deputy approached him for the purpose of quieting matters and was about to place his hands on him, when Colonel Lamar pushed him aside saying "I am committing no disorder." United States marshal Pierce then came running up and jumped between Colonel Lamar and Whistler, seizing both. His purpose was pacific, but Colonel Lamar, not understanding this, struck him with his fist a severe blow upon the face, which dislocated his jaw and sent him sprawling. The United States attorney (G. Wiley Wells) demanded the colonel's arrest. Mr. Emory, the foreman of the grand jury, rushed out and brought in a squad of soldiers. Colonel Lamar became greatly exasperated and denounced the parading of soldiers in court in time of profound peace. When the court

threatened his arrest he said he regarded the jail now as more suitable for a gentlemen than most other places. He became very much incensed when the soldiers were brought in and declared if they undertook to put him in jail the streets would "swim in blood." Colonel Manning and General Featherston requested Lamar to desist from speaking. Pierce then asked the court to arrest Lamar for striking him in open court, at which Lamar sprang to his feet, saying "I know the court will not make that order." Pierce then told Lamar that he did not approach him for the purpose of arrest, but for friendly counsel. Lamar then expressed his regret at having struck Pierce and repeated his apology to the court. This affair has been much distorted and misrepresented. The Radical papers made much ado about it. The various versions depicted a scene of great and unprovoked violence. The University of Mississippi students were said to have joined in the row. The Ku Klux prisoners were depicted as jumping over the railing of the bar, cheering, taking part in it, all of which was not true. The Boutwell committee reports that the matter was exploited as some sort of a Ku Klux performance and connected Lamar with the klan in some undefined manner.⁴³

GOVERNMENT.

On January 2, 1866, the board of police of Lafayette county met and took the following oath to support the constitutions of the United States and of Mississippi: "We solemnly swear that we will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Mississippi so long as we continue citizens thereof and that we will discharge our duties of the office of members of the board of police of said county according to the law, so help us God." R. C. Graham, F. S. Harris, F. G. Shipp, and S. E. Ragland. In 1865 the members of the board of supervisors who were elected were all good Democrats.⁴⁴

In 1869 the Democrats were removed, and a new board composed of one negro and two carpetbaggers and three scalawags was appointed by Ames, who was then provisional governor of the State. This board served until July, 1870, when the first meeting of the board of

⁴³ The testimony in the Boutwell report is made by F. B. Emmens, 297; A. P. Huggins, 197; S. J. Gohlson, 850; R. O. Reynolds, 910. Most of these were scalawags and carpetbaggers.

⁴⁴ See Appendix A.

supervisors was held, and new members installed. Josiah Wilson, a scalawag, was president of the board, W. A. West, a Greenbacker, was appointed sheriff. Mr. West discharged the duties of his office efficiently. He joined his fortunes with the Radical party in 1870 and was secretary of a Radical meeting held in Oxford on November 28, 1870.⁴⁵ W. H. Foard served as clerk until 1871, when H. M. Sullivan was appointed in his place. In 1872 the board of supervisors was composed of four Democrats and one negro Republican.

In March, 1872, C. F. Jones was appointed sheriff by Ames. Jones was a leader among the Democrats and a member of the Ku Klux Klan. He suddenly disappeared from the county. H. M. Sullivan, clerk, found on inspecting the books that the county had been assessed too much. B. F. Scruggs, a scalawag, was appointed to succeed Jones. In 1873 all the members of the board were Democrats except one negro (Mack Avant), who continued to serve until 1879.

In some beats of the county negroes were appointed bailiffs, justices of the peace, and grand jurors. They held these offices until J. O. George was made chairman of the state Democratic executive committee and issued his order that it was better to count them out than to shoot them out. Tobe Humphries served on the grand jury and Bob Stockard was magistrate at College Hill. There were other negro officials in other beats of the county, but their names cannot now be ascertained. Soon after the surrender, Sheriff McKie commissioned Mr. W. Gilmer to summons as many men as necessary to keep the negro in his proper place and to protect the white people. Mr. Gilmer served in this unique capacity until the Ku Klux Klan was organized. The county was represented in the State legislature during this period by one carpetbagger, three scalawags, and fifteen Democrats.⁴⁶

CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS.

The campaign in 1868 for the ratification or rejection of the carpet-bag constitution and for the election of a full State ticket resulted in a Democratic majority of five hundred in Lafayette county. Col. R. W. Phipps was chairman of the county Democratic executive committee and had complete control of the canvas. He made a thorough

⁴⁵ This information was obtained from the *Oxford Falcon*, December 3, 1870.

⁴⁶ See Appendix A.

canvas, speaking at every election precinct and organizing clubs in every part of the county. The organization of the Ku Klux Klan was used to the furthest extent, and contributed largely to the grand result.

In the election of June, 1868, the Radicals made a serious effort to throw out the entire vote that had been cast both for and against the constitution. They sent a committee to Washington, which appeared before the reconstruction committee of Congress and represented that the election in this and other counties was not fairly conducted, that the freedmen were either afraid to vote at all or forced to vote the Democratic ticket, that violence was used and the lives of Radicals threatened if they exercised the right of suffrage. At the Oxford box, where a large majority of negroes voted the Democratic ticket, a company of United States soldiers was stationed and was present during the election ready to afford protection to every voter. The officers declared that they had never seen a fairer election. The registrars and officers holding the election were all good Union men and discharged their duties faithfully. The election in December, 1869, in Lafayette county resulted in a Republican victory by sixty majority. This result was due to the free stuffing of the ballot boxes by the Alcorn managers of the election. The Democrats had not at any box in the county a solitary representation. An honest count of the votes would have given the Democrats at least five hundred majority. This fraudulent action resulted in the election of J. C. Shoup as senator and Col. W. G. Vaughan and S. V. W. Whiting as representatives.

One of the most enthusiastic Radical meetings ever held in the county was held three miles north of Oxford in July, 1869. The negroes flocked from all parts of the county. Dr. Needley was elected temporary chairman and T. J. Wyatt, secretary. On the motion of Alexander Philips (colored), a committee of three was appointed consisting of A. Philips, S. V. W. Whiting, and T. J. Wyatt. While the committee was out, Tobe Humphries (colored) took the stand and proceeded to express his sentiments upon the political questions of the day so far as he understood them. He said he was in favor of the Radical party and universal suffrage and wanted every white man and negro to have the right to vote and hold office. DeWitt Stearns was made president of the meeting, Dr. Medley, vice-president.

A committee of three, composed of A. Phillips, W. H. Foard and S. V. W. Whiting, was appointed to draft resolutions. The Radical Republican platform which had been adopted July 1, was read. Addresses were made by Colonel Vaughan, Judge Stearns, Major Whiting, and A. Philips (colored), who appeared before the crowd as a martyr, having been shot shortly before. Major Whiting said everybody should subscribe for the *Oxonian* and that all colored members of the Radical party could get a copy free by calling for it. There were over four hundred negroes at this meeting.⁴⁷

In June 1869 the "truly toil" brethren and sisters met in the Northern Methodist church for the purpose of devising a way to stir up strife and ill-will between the whites and blacks. Alexander Philips was grand mogul of the party. The room was filled with negroes who looked as if they expected that the "forty acres and a mule" would surely come.

Perk Borrum (scalawag) opened the meeting and moved that Alexander Philips take the chair. He promptly proceeded to tell the people that this was a "Union Republican" meeting, convened for the purpose of electing delegates to the July convention. A long paper had been prepared by the scalawags and carpetbaggers which Philips read. A. Worley Patterson then moved that a committee be appointed to draft resolutions. This committee was composed of Tobe Humphries, Perk Borrum, A. W. Patterson, and Robert Stockard. Philips made one of his characteristic speeches while the committee was out. He stated that he was opposed to disfranchising the whites but thought the disfranchising clauses had done some good. He very graciously informed the colored people that they were free, but some of them had voted against their wishes at the last election. A. W. Patterson then reported from the committee a series of resolutions endorsing the call for a Radical convention on July 1, approving General Grant's policy and recommending the appointing of delegates to the convention. The delegates appointed to the Radical convention at Jackson were Tobe Humphries (colored), Gilbert Burney (colored), A. Philips (colored), A. W. Patterson and D. P. Borrum. Philips then haranged the audience upon the propriety of contributing money to defray the expenses of the delegates

⁴⁷ This information was obtained from the *Oxford Falcon*, July 31, 1869.

to Jackson. The "truly toil" crowd liberally responded to the call. Only two white men took any part in this meeting.⁴⁸

In February, 1868 a great meeting was held in Oxford. It was the largest political gathering that had ever assembled in the county. The people were fired with the determination to crush out the Radical party. Old Whigs, Democrats, Unionists, and Secessionists, young and old men, met together and resolved to stand upon the same platform and make an effort for the preservation of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and to save the State from being plundered by a horde of adventurers. The meeting was presided over by A. J. Buford, an Old Line Whig. Eloquent and stirring addresses were delivered by a number of the most prominent citizens in which they emphasized the fact that the white people had greater facilities for controlling the negro than the carpetbag adventurers.⁴⁹

On one occasion the white Democrats gave the colored Democrats a barbecue at Oxford. There were about three hundred present. Music was furnished by the Oxford brass band and some of the most prominent white Democrats addressed the crowd. The negro speakers also made splendid speeches, telling how the Radicals had tried to win them to their party by false promises and by offering them money and land. Many negroes, who had voted the Radical ticket, came to the committee to have their names enrolled as members of the Democratic association.

During the campaign of 1875 there were a great many torchlight processions. They were participated in by the white Democrats and a number of negroes, who belonged to the "white man's party." Messrs. Joe Stowers, Lem Dillard, T. W. Buford, Ed Hope, C. B. Neilson devoted a great deal of time to getting up these processions. The Oxford Democrats would often join with those of other towns in their celebrations. When there was to be a public speaking, such as by a candidate for Congress, they would proceed to the appointed place and join in the celebrations. This aided in carrying the elections for the Democrats in 1875 and 1876. Addresses on these occasions were often made by Lamar and Walthall.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Oxford Falcon*, June 26, 1869.

⁴⁹ *Oxford Falcon*.

⁵⁰ This information was derived from A. H. Kendel and C. B. Neilson.

There were no newspaper controversies in Lafayette county at this time. The *Oxford Falcon*, a Democratic paper was edited by Col. Sam Thompson. It was established in 1865. The *Oxonian* and *Richotchette* were Radical papers. The *Richotchette* was edited for a few months by Victor Thompson, brother of Sam Thompson. The *Oxonian* was first edited by Captain Overall, who pretended that it was the organ of the University, and in consequence of this claim succeeded in "humbugging" a number of citizens out of their money. It was then sold to the Radicals. J. C. Shoup and E. M. Main, had charge of it for a short time.

One of the most effective means the white people had for intimidating the negroes was by digging Radical graves. They would dig as many as three graves at the time and tell them that they were ready to put them in if they voted the Republican ticket or did not repent that they had already voted it. Threats were made before and during elections that if the negroes voted the Republican ticket they could no longer claim any protection or assistance from the white people; they could no longer expect their old friends and masters to give them employment. They were told that they must either go to their Radical friends for employment or starve to death, as they deserved. The Democratic star was also an effective means of intimidation. If the negroes would not put on this star they would be subjected to physical violence. If a negro had on this star he could "boss" the other negroes.

The Ku Klux Klan was perhaps one of the most effective means for carrying elections for the Democrats, since the negroes were afraid to vote the Radical ticket, if threatened by them. Another thing that made the negroes afraid was the taking of the names of all that voted, whether they voted Democrat or Republican. The impression was made that they who voted the Democratic ticket should receive higher wages than those voting the Radical ticket.⁵¹ One stormy night during an election the negroes were in Oxford ready to participate. Several prominent negroes were speaking to them and had them under their influence to vote the Republican ticket. Several young white men slipped around and watched for an opportunity to frighten these leaders. When a loud clap of thunder came, they knocked these

⁵¹ Mr. E. D. Anderson.

negroes on the heads with big sticks. The negroes thought the lightning had struck them, and ran away not to be seen for several days.⁵² This gave the whites a chance to get negro votes for the Democrat ticket, as the negro Republican leaders had been frightened away.

One of the chief means of fraud resorted to by the Democrats was the stuffing of ballot boxes. Some times the judge of the election would be a white man and the clerk a negro. The negro could not read, and Radical tickets were often counted Democratic. Sometimes the Democratic election officer would have Democratic tickets concealed up his sleeve and would substitute them for Republican tickets. The judge of the election would often call out Democratic names with his eyes on the Republican ticket; for he knew the Democratic ticket thoroughly. The Democratic tickets were made to imitate the Republican in color and general design.⁵³ On one occasion the ballot box was left in the hands of three white men and one negro. They all in turn went to supper, leaving the negro to go last. While the negro was gone, the box was slipped away and thrown in an old well.⁵⁴ At one election at the College Hill box the Democrats had one hundred and fifty majority, though there were only forty-five white voters and two hundred negroes in that precinct. This was due to the stuffing of the ballot box.⁵⁵

In the election of 1869 the Radicals succeeded in defrauding the Democrats. This was one of the most atrocious frauds that had ever been imposed on a free people. The people were allowed the merciful privilege of a farcical registration by his majesty, General Ames, but when it was placed in the hands of hirelings the privilege sank into mockery. The registrars sat with their commissions in their pockets until a day or two before the work was to begin, and then the farce of advertising the time and place was enacted. They met in the remotest corners, where nobody was in the habit of going, or in the woods and in the back part of some old store. They removed the ballot boxes from the usual places, dispensed with every place of registration and voting from the south side of Yockana river, an area of one-third the county. This was done to suit their own pur-

⁵² Mr. C. B. Neilsons.

⁵³ Mr. C. B. Neilsons.

⁵⁴ Capt. W. C. Neill, C. B. Neilson, J. R. Barry.

⁵⁵ Capt. W. C. Neill.

poses; for they thought that high water, bad weather, and old age would keep many from coming to the polls. They communicated the intelligence to the loyal leagues and Republican clubs. Twelve hundred failed to vote, fifty of them being negroes.⁶⁶

At the election of 1869, which was held at Oxford under the garri-son of soldiers stationed at that place, a disturbance arose between a Republican officer of the election and the voters. A young man by the name of William Robert Jones, who had been reared in Oxford, was shot and killed by George Jones, a scalawag and Republican election officer. For a long time it caused considerable excitement among the citizens, and the Republican officers and scalawags would have been severely punished, if it had not been for the Federal soldiers and the wise counsel of the older heads. The Ku Klux Klan ordered three men to guard the train and if George Jones got on to shoot him. In the meantime the Republicans managed to slip him away, by disguising him as a Federal soldier. The people advised all the negroes to leave town for their homes, which they did.⁶⁷

There were no riots in the county. As a rule the freedmen were very orderly. At times they became impudent on account of the action and protection offered by the Freedmen's Bureau and Federal Garrison.

One night in June, 1869, Alexander Philips a negro preacher and teacher, was shot by Mr. Rupe, a painter from Water Valley. Rupe was very much intoxicated and went near Philips house and fired off a pistol. Philips immediately came out and made a remark to him. Rupe fired upon him, the ball striking Philips in his left jaw and inflicting a severe wound. The excitement drew a number of negroes, who fell upon Rupe and gave him a terrible whipping. His injuries were very serious. He was placed under charge of a negro guard and they used the most insulting language to him while they had him in charge. A military force from Holly Springs came and restored order. They took charge of Rupe and sent him to Vicksburg for trial. The next night after the shooting over one hundred negroes with guns, rifles, and pistols, made their appearance in the town of Oxford. They were stirred up to outrageous demonstrations

⁶⁶ Mr. J. R. Barry in the *Oxford Falcon*.

⁶⁷ Mr. C. B. Neilson and A. H. Kendel.

by Radicals, who desired to have a bloody riot. But things were quieted by the soldiers. The citizens did not approve of the shooting of Philips or the outrages inflicted upon Rupe by a mob.⁵⁸

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

At the close of the war the county was in a deplorable condition. The crops had been ruined and the farms were practically destroyed. While the county was under the rule of the carpetbaggers many of the best citizens sold out and left. It was not long until the negroes thought they did not have to work. They left the farms and congregated in the town. For the lack of labor a number of the best farms were not cultivated for some years. As soon as the negro realized the falsity of the promises made by the carpetbaggers, he went back to the farm and began to make his living. This put a stop to a great deal of complaint and the disturbances caused by idleness.

The freedmen's bureau was rather beneficial to the whites in the control of labor. The agent of the bureau could easily be won over on the side of the white man by the use of a little money.

Contracts were made with the former slaves, some of whom worked for wages, others for shares of the crop, and others were bound out. In 1886 on a plantation near College Hill there were forty-five wage hands.⁵⁹ The wage of a grown person was about \$10 to \$15 and board per month. Many of the freedmen made crops on shares, or rented the land.⁶⁰ Such foreign laborers as were introduced into the county were mostly Swedes, many of whom were used as house servants. A committee of six was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws for the government of the colonization land company. This committee composed of T. E. B. Pegues, P. B. Barringer, T. N. Buford, D. G. Fee, W. L. Archibald, Dr. L. W. Gubbart, Judge R. A. Hill, chairman. Mr. C. H. Gray of Orwood had twelve or fourteen Swedes and Germans on his plantation. Two shiploads came over and settled

⁵⁸ *Oxford Falcon*, June 26, 1869.

⁵⁹ Mr. E. D. Anderson.

⁶⁰ They rented land on the half or the third and fourth. In the half method the landlord furnished the land, tools and stock, the renter received half of the crop raised. In the third method the renter furnished the stock, tools and the landlord furnished the land, the landlord received one-third of the crop. Conditions were the same in the one-fourth method. When the third and fourth methods were combined the landlord received one-third of the corn and one-fourth of the cotton.

around Water Valley. Mr. Gray was on the immigration committee of Yalobusha county.⁶¹ There were a number of foreign laborers who came near Clear Creek. They did not like the treatment they received and went to another county. A number of immigrants were killed in a wreck near Buckner's crossing. Some of those killed were on their way to Oxford, and several of them were buried in the Oxford cemetery.⁶²

When the foreigners arrived in Oxford they were all lined up, and each man was allowed to pick out those he wanted. The people of the College Hill community, who were Scotch Presbyterians, decided that they would rather have some of the old "blue stocking" element, so a number of immigrants came to that section from Scotland.⁶³

At the close of the war, owing to the deplorable condition of the county, high taxes had to be levied for public improvements. The roads and bridges had been torn up and burned. The courthouse had been burned, the county jail had to be built, and taxes had to be levied for school purposes.

On looking over the minutes of the board of police or supervisors there is nothing that would suggest any fraud in awarding public contracts. No exorbitant prices were paid for the building of roads or bridges.

Appropriations were made to destitute families of soldiers in the county and every freeman between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one was taxed \$1 for the support of negro paupers.⁶⁴ In 1865, \$11,319 was ordered by the board of supervisors to be paid to the indigent soldiers of the county. In June, 1867 Captain Rossiter, the agent of the freedmen's bureau, was ordered by General A. C. Gillem, assistant commander of the freedmen's bureau to distribute two hundred and fifty sacks of corn and four hundred pounds of pork to the indigent of the county.⁶⁵ In 1870 C. N. Wilson was paid \$500 for indexing records, E. M. Main and company, editors of the *Oxonian*, \$42.30 for publishing the delinquent tax payers' list, which amounted to more than the taxes realized therefrom, to say nothing of a further expense

⁶¹ Mrs. J. R. Shinault.

⁶² Mrs. E. A. Thompson.

⁶³ Mr. E. D. Anderson.

⁶⁴ Minutes of board of supervisors, 1866.

⁶⁵ *Oxford Falcon*, June 1, 1867.

of \$111.75 for blanks. After paying these exorbitant prices the county was unable to have money for the support of schools. In 1870 the landowners were forced to pay a larger amount because of the floating population. The State and county needed a tax of \$10,000, but the board of supervisors was compelled to assess \$15,000 to obtain the amount required. This made the tax $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent higher. In February, 1871, the board of supervisors appointed a committee consisting of W. S. Nelson, C. M. Phipps, Wm. Henwood, and H. M. Sullivan to let out the contract for building of the courthouse. They secured a loan of \$2,500 from the Chickasaw school funds of the county.⁶⁶

In 1860 the total valuation of property in the county was \$15,962,200 in 1870, \$3,339,716, and in 1880, \$2,303,405. Many of the farmers quit raising cotton and planted corn. In 1860 there were 19,282 bales of cotton raised, in 1870 only 9,007, showing a decrease of 10,275.⁶⁷ Corn sold at from thirty-five to seventy-five cents a bushel. The potato crop was very plentiful, selling sometimes as low as 25 cents a bushel.

A public meeting was held in Oxford in 1869 for the purpose of sending a memorial to Congress remonstrating against the cotton tax. At that time the Federal court was in session at this place and there were present a number of men from adjoining counties. They took part in this movement and a committee was appointed consisting of a member from each county represented here to draft resolutions. Senator Alcorn addressed the meeting and favored the adoption of the resolutions.⁶⁸

In 1867 there was a special tax of 13 per cent of the State tax levied for the purpose of building the jail and paying rent for the courthouse and clerks' offices for the year 1866. Twenty per cent of the State tax was levied for paying the Probate judges salary. Ten per cent of the State tax was levied for a pauper's fund, 40 per cent for county purposes, making a total of 83 per cent of the State tax. In 1873 the board levied a tax of five mills on taxable property in the county, or 10/17 of the State tax and the same was levied for general county purposes. A tax of 4 mills upon the taxable property

⁶⁶ The contract was let to Sledge and Company of Grand Junction, Tennessee.

⁶⁷ See Appendix B, Tables V and VI.

⁶⁸ *Oxford Falcon*.

of the county, or 8/17 of the State tax was levied and collected in currency for school warrants to supply the deficiency in the teachers' fund and pay the outstanding school warrants. One-half mill on taxable property or 2/17 of the State tax was levied and collected in currency to pay the superintendent's salary and school house fund. In 1869, 100 per cent of the State tax was levied for general county purposes, 30 per cent for paupers, 25 per cent for the probate judge's salary, 20 per cent for courthouse rent and 50 per cent for building bridges, making a total of 225 per cent of the State tax.

In 1874 the county tax was 10 mills, the State tax 14, making a total of 24 mills. The tax on property, which had decreased largely in valuation, was a grievous burden on the people who had not recovered from the impoverishment of the war. The result was wholesale confiscation of property. The people in many cases decided that it was better to allow their property to be confiscated and take the chances of being able to redeem it in after years.

In 1870 it was considered by the board of supervisors that the most equitable way of affording relief and improving the credit of the county would be to call in and re-issue all the outstanding warrants in such denomination or denominations as may be desired by the holder of same. It was ordered that a series of warrants of the denomination of \$1, \$2, and \$5 be procured, also a series of the denomination of \$100, the latter series were called "bonds of the county," and bore interest at the rate of 10 per cent per year. For each warrant issued, the chancery clerk received 5 cents, but the bonds of the denomination of \$100 were issued by the county treasurer. These \$100 bonds had to be countersigned by the chancery clerk and the seal of his office attached. The treasurer received 50 cents for issuing each bond. Twenty-five per cent of the revenue was pledged for the redemption of the bonds. These bonds were receivable for taxes. All bonds were redeemable at the pleasure of the county on or before January 1, 1873.⁶⁹

EDUCATION.

When peace returned the number of children needing educational advantages was more than doubled by the emancipation of the negro race. Having launched this race into citizenship, the northern people

⁶⁹ Minutes of the board of supervisors, August, 1870.

and the United States government attempted to provide extraordinary facilities for its education,

Prior to the war almost the only free schools in the State were those maintained out of the proceeds arising from the sale or lease of the sixteenth section lands, granted to the state by Congress, in the early part of the century. They were open only to white children. The tendency of the reconstruction period was of course to bring into existence such a system of public education as had been evolved in the white settled states of the West.

In 1870 a system was introduced, whereby each county in the State was to be made a school district in which free public schools were to be maintained for at least four months in the year under the supervision of a board of school directors. The people were so poor as a result of the war, that the simplest system for educating the white children alone would have been burdensome. But under the new régime the negro children also were to be educated at public expense. Prejudice was further aroused by the efforts to replace the old log school houses with frame buildings.

Usually only Northerners could be persuaded to take negro schools. There was an impression that they proposed to mingle the races. White teachers of negro schools had to live upon terms of social equality with the negroes because they were socially ostracized by the whites. The negro schools of the county were taught mostly by negroes. Mr. Paul Buford, a native white Democrat, taught a negro school, but at was because it was the only way he had of making a living. He was in feeble health and not able to work.⁷⁰ J. B. Nunnally, a scalawag, and J. B. Pitcher, taught at Sulphur Springs. The Democrats frightened Pitcher away, and he never came back to the county.⁷¹ There was a traditional preference for private schools and there were a number in the county. In the town of Oxford, Professor Richardson had a school in the basement of the Methodist church. In 1867 the Hopewell Academy was taught by Misses Flora McFarland and Sue Ivey, and the Oxford Institute was taught by G. W. Smith and J. M. Clemmons. In 1868 Mr. G. W. Smith opened a male academy in Oxford.

⁷⁰ Mr. E. D. Anderson.

⁷¹ J. N. Slough and J. R. Barry.

There were good schools at Abbeville and Taylors. In 1866 Mr. Joseph Shipp, a graduate of the University, taught at Taylors and H. F. Neely and wife had charge of the Abbeville school.

Captain Rosseter, the agent of the freedmens bureau, agreed to take charge of a negro school in Oxford, provided he could get twenty to attend. He had no difficulty in getting this number. D. P. Borrum, a scalawag, had charge of a negro school.

Dr. W. F. Elliot, a scalawag, was the first superintendent of education. He was appointed by Ames. He is said to have given a first grade license to any one giving him a bottle of whiskey.⁷² The teachers were paid by order of the board of supervisors. They seem to have been divided into three classes, those teaching from January to July, July to January, and those teaching at unspecified time. In 1867 the board of supervisors ordered that W. B. Gilmer be paid \$97.40 per month for teaching from January 1 to July. B. F. Archer \$23.85 per month for teaching from July 1 to January 1. S. F. Cain was paid \$13 for an unspecified time.⁷³

In 1873 in some of the schools a month was fifteen days, and in others, twenty. The length of the term varied from three to five months. Sometimes they had three months in fall and winter and two months in summer. On account of the heated sickly summer season no good resulted to the pupils. Later the session began on December 1 and closed May 1. This included the idle winter months and after May 1 the children could be profitably employed on the farm. In some cases the teacher received pay from the board of supervisors and if the term was to be lengthened the patrons of the school would pay the teachers. In the year, 1873 teachers received as high as \$90, the lowest salary in that year was \$50. The superintendent's register does not distinguish between the white and negro teachers or white and negro schools. There were no records earlier than 1873, and they were not well kept.

Mr. A. F. Lewis was appointed county superintendent of education in 1873. He had been reared in the county, his father was a Confederate soldier. Mr. Lewis was a man of estimable character and discharged his duties faithfully. He joined in with the Republican

⁷² Mr. J. N. Slough.

⁷³ Board of supervisors' minutes.

party for the sake of holding office. In 1875 Mr. W. B. Gilmer taught a line school, known as the Toccapola-Lafayette School, and received \$75 from Lafayette county for teaching. Among the leading negro teachers were Alexander Philips, who taught the Oxford female colored school in 1874 and 1875 and received \$50. Others were Joseph Philips, Robert Stockard, George Humphries, Emma Webster, Henry Brothers.

In the year 1870 there were 886 children in the county attending school, and 4,423 children ten years of age who could not read.⁷⁴

Alexander Philips the grand cyclops of the Radical Ku Klux Klan of this county, poured forth his wrath upon the Alcorn system of education as it existed in the State. The new university established in the State for negroes was declared a nuisance and not in keeping with sound Republican principles. He said "the University of Mississippi was good enough, ample enough and should be enough for all the students in the State, both white and colored. He was opposed to separate schools in every particular, and said the colored men have but to demand it and admission to the University would be granted. He said they had obtained everything they had asked for but this, and the white people would yield it."⁷⁵

During the war, the university buildings and grounds were occupied first by the Confederate and then by the Union troops.⁷⁶ No permanent injury seems to have been done the institution by either army, so that the work of reorganization was comparatively easy. Governor Sharkey in the proclamation announcing his appointment as provisional governor directed the trustees to meet at Oxford, July 31, for the purpose of reopening the University. The meeting was held, a faculty appointed, and in September the university again opened its doors. The work of the University was not materially affected by the early reconstruction policies of the State or nation. The district commanders did not interfere with its administration, but regularly issued warrants for its support, and showed no disposition to impair its usefulness. The trustees appointed the district commanders, who were old and highly respected citizens of the State, and the appointments were approved by all parties.

⁷⁴ See Appendix B, Table XI.

⁷⁵ *Oxford Falcon*, August 18, 1877.

⁷⁶ See Mrs. J. G. Johnson's "The University War Hospital" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XII, 94-106.

The reconstruction legislature, however, was not disposed to pursue a non-interference policy and in May, 1870, it passed an act to "reconstruct" the University. A new board of trustees, among whom were several carpetbaggers and a number of native Republicans was appointed in pursuance of the act. But no attempt was made to "radicalize" the faculty. During this period there was a great deal of fear that colored students would demand admission to the University for there appeared no legal ground on which they could be excluded.⁷⁷ Great credit is due Judge R. A. Hill for keeping the negroes out of the institution.

The Boutwell committee reported that two school houses were burned and one teacher shot, this teacher was Alexander Philips. An account of this shooting has been given above.

When the Radicals surrendered the state government to the Democrats in Mississippi in 1876, the public school system which they had fathered was firmly established, its efficiency increased, and its administration made somewhat less expensive than at first. There does not seem to have been any disposition upon the part of the Democrats to abolish it or impair its efficiency.⁷⁸

RELIGION.

The disastrous effects of the war were apparent on the religious life and work in Lafayette county. For the first fifteen years after this great convulsion the churches were enfeebled by the exhaustion and embarrassed by the confusion which prevailed throughout the county. Their resources were enormously reduced by the extinction of slavery and the general depreciation of property.

The strong churches in the town became weak and the rural churches were unable to maintain an organization by their own efforts. They sank into the position of missionary stations or became extinct.

The religious denominations established at the outbreak of the war were about the same as today. The Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, and Episcopal churches being represented. Before 1865 the negroes usually attended the churches of

⁷⁷ Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 367.

⁷⁸ See Miss Timberlake's "Did the Reconstruction Régime Give Mississippi her Public Schools?" in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XII, 72-92.

their masters, and in some churches a place was set apart for them. Some of them had membership in the white churches. The Northern Methodist church in Oxford was dedicated May 10, 1868, by Rev. C. C. McDonald, Presiding elder. The white people were very willing that the negroes should have churches of their own, and freely contributed to this cause. In 1867 a large Sunday school designed for the mental and moral culture of the negroes was established at College Hill. The best people of the county were engaged in this work; for they thought that the negroes who did not yield to the temptation to abandon their masters during the war deserve something. Rev. Carter, a man of estimable character who had preached to the negroes before the war at Cambridge church, was allowed to so do after the war.⁷⁹

The agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, Captain Rosseter, preached to the negroes in the Northern Methodist church in Oxford. Alexander Philips (colored) also preached at this church.

In 1860 there 6 Presbyterian, 5 Cumberland Presbyterian, 8 Baptist, 1 Episcopal, and 12 Methodist churches in the county. In 1870 there were 29 Baptist, 1 Episcopal, 12 Methodist, and 8 Presbyterian churches.⁸⁰ Among the most prominent church leaders was Rev. J. N. Waddel, a chancellor of the University and a pastor of the Presbyterian church, Oxford. Dr. T. D. Isom, W. A. Nelson, H. A. Barr, Judge McCutcheon, and J. L. Kendel served as elders in this church until their deaths. The Buford, Shaw, and Moss families were the church leaders at College Hill. Judge J. M. Howry, Judge R. A. Hill, were the most prominent leaders of the Cumberland Presbyterian church; Col. T. L. Harris and Professor Wheat of the Methodist church; Mr. Harvey Carothers, Professors Quince and J. L. Johnson of the Baptist church; the Pegues, Thompsons and Skipwiths of the Episcopal church.

Afternoon services were held in the white churches for the negroes and the white pastors preached to them. The church threw its influence on the side of every philanthropic movement and of every social reform which was projected in the county.

⁷⁹ Statements of W. T. Ivey and J. R. Barry.

⁸⁰ See Appendix B, Table XII.

OVERTHROW OF THE RADICAL RULE, 1875.

The blighting curse of the carpetbagger, scalawag, and negro rule was borne by the people of Lafayette county until 1875, when a halt was called, and the "white" man in the county swore a solemn oath that he would free himself and his posterity from such a disgrace or die in the attempt. Lafayette county sent the Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar as a delegate to the Democratic State Convention held at Jackson. He was the recognized leader in that body, and he made the greatest speech of his life on the floor of the convention. It served as a bugle call to the white people to throw off the ruin and dishonor that threatened them. By 1875 the county had gotten rid of the carpetbaggers, and the most important offices were held by the Democrats. The Democrats stood strongly united to overcome the Republican majority and thus put an end to Radical rule.

The town of Oxford was incorporated by the legislature in 1837. The first settler was Dr. T. D. Isom, an honored and respected citizen up to the time of his death in 1902. In 1838 Oxford had two hotels, six stores, and two seminaries of education. The town was almost destroyed by the war. Mr. Charles Roberts was the first to erect a store after the war, on the ruins of the former town, the business portion of which had been destroyed by the Federal army. The leading men of the Democratic and Republican parties in the county resided at Oxford, and as a matter of fact all political interests centered around this place. The most important political meetings were held there. Oxford was also the seat of the Federal court for the northern district of Mississippi, and when court convened at that place, it was attended by many of the ablest lawyers of the State. The operations of the Radical party centered around Oxford; for the Federal soldiers were stationed there and they gave protection to that party.

James Cook, the mayor of the town in 1865, was most highly respected by the community. He later served as agent of the freedmen's bureau. In 1870 Ames appointed a carpetbagger, C. N. Wilson, as mayor. He was not liked by the people, and served only one term. J. M. Phipps was elected in 1872 to succeed Wilson, and he served two terms.

In 1865 C. N. Word was town constable, and served until 1867. A carpetbagger, whose name cannot be ascertained, succeeded him and served until 1872, when W. B. Vance, a good Democrat was elected marshal in his place. Lucius Lamar was elected in 1874 as marshal, but served only a short time, A. H. Kendel being elected to fill his unexpired term, served until 1876. The town officials as a rule were good Democrats.

The place built up rapidly after the war. Public walks were built and the roads improved. In February, 1872, the Bank of Oxford was organized, with a paid up capital of \$33,333.33 and an authorized capital of \$100,000. W. L. Archibald was its first president and W. A. West the first cashier.

Oxford had the best schools of any town its size in the State. There was located here until 1904 the Union Female College, incorporated in 1838 as the Oxford Female Academy. As the mayor's records were not preserved, it is impossible to give more about the government of the town. The people of Oxford were always ready to join in every movement to overthrow the Republican government.

APPENDIX A.

Board of Police.

1865.

R. C. Webb, president, Beat 1; J. W. Goolsby, Beat 2; T. L. Harris, Beat 3; W. M. Pickins, Beat 4; M. W. Goodwin, Beat 5; W. Delay, clerk.

1866.

R. C. Webb, president, Beat 1; A. M. Graham, Beat 2; T. L. Harris, Beat 3; T. G. Shipp, Beat 4; S. E. Ragland, Beat 5; W. Delay, clerk.

1867 and 1868.

R. C. Webb, president, Beat 1; J. C. Murray, Beat 2; T. L. Harris, Beat 3; S. M. McAloin, Beat 4; S. E. Ragland, Beat 5; W. Delay, clerk; C. B. Howry, county attorney.

1869.

Dewitt Stearns, president (carpetbagger), Beat 1; Jerry Fox (colored), Beat 2; A. G. Browning, Beat 3; J. W. Wyatt, Beat 4; Moses Powell, Beat 5; W. H. Foard, clerk (carpetbagger); J. C. Shoup, county attorney (scalawag).

Board of Supervisors.

1870-1871.

Josiah Wilson, president, Beat 1; Jerry Fox (negro), Beat 2; W. R. Howell, Beat 3; L. E. Warrington, Beat 4; Moses Powell, Beat 5; W. H. Foard, clerk.

1872.

S. E. Ragland, president, Beat 1; Jerry Fox, Beat 2; W. R. Howell, Beat 3; J. W. Tomlinson, Beat 4; J. R. Barry, Beat 5; R. W. Black, sheriff; H. M. Sullivan, county attorney.

1873.

S. E. Ragland, president, Beat 1; J. R. Barry, Beat 2; J. W. Barber, Beat 3; J. W. Tomlinson, Beat 4; Mack Avent (negro), Beat 5; R. W. Black, clerk.

1874.

J. R. Barry, president, Beat 1; J. A. Norris, Beat 2; J. W. Barber, Beat 3; J. W. Tomlinson, Beat 4; Mack Avant (negro), Beat 5; R. W. Black, clerk.

1875.

J. R. Barry, president, Beat 1; J. A. Norris, Beat 2; E. Palmer, Beat 3; T. J. _____, Beat 4; Mack Avant, Beat 5; R. W. Black, clerk.

Sheriffs.

1865-69, W. S. McGee; 1869-72, W. A. West; January to March 1872, H. M. Sullivan; March, 1872-73, C. F. Jones; 1873-74, B. F. Scruggs; 1874-75, J. W. McLeod.

Treasurers.

1865-68, J. L. Kendel; 1870-74, A. M. McLeod; 1874-75, N. A. Isom.

Mayors of Oxford.

1865-67, James S. Cook; 1866, T. H. Lyman (served a few months); 1870-72, C. N. Wilson (appointed by Ames); 1872-76, J. M. Phipps.

Marshal of Oxford.

1865-67, C. N. Word; 1867-72, —————; 1872-74, W. B. Vance; 1874, L. Lamar; 1874-76, A. H. Kendel.

Senators.

1865-66-67, Jas. Brown; 1870, J. C. Shoup; 1872, W. L. Lyles; 1873, W. L. Lyles; 1874-75, J. A. McNeil.

Representatives.

R. W. Phipps, Drury Roberston, W. G. Vaughan, S. V. W. Whiting, W. G. Vaughan and S. V. W. Whiting, J. H. McKie and J. C. Davis, J. H. McKie and B. F. Archer, W. B. Gilmer and B. F. Archer.

APPENDIX B.—CENSUS STATISTICS OF LAFAYETTE COUNTY.

TABLE I. NUMBER OF SLAVES OWNED AND NUMBER OF SLAVE HOLDERS, 1860.

	Number Owning									Total Number of Slave Holders	Total Number of Slaves							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9									
111	93	63	66	59	36	36	21	19	75	42	43	20	9	10	6	5	714	7,129

TABLE II. POPULATION, 1860-1880.

	Native Born	Foreign Born	White	NEGROES			Total Population	MALES, 20 YEARS AND OVER			Male Citizens, 21 Years and Over
				Free	Slaves	Total		White	Free	Negroes	
1860	8,916	80	8,939	7	7,129	7,136	16,125	2,142	4	1,431	3,788
1870	18,538	264	10,819	7,938	.....	7,938	18,802	.....	.....	.....	4,490
1880	21,536	108	11,365	10,286	.....	10,286	21,671	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE III. POPULATION, MINOR CIVIL DISTRICTS, 1880.

Beat 1 including town of Oxford....	6,121	Beat 3 including town of Abbeville....	5,618	Taylors.....	85
Town of Oxford.....	1,634	Abbeville.....	223	Beat 5.....	3,474
Beat 2.....	2,796	Beat 4 including Taylors.....	3,662	Total.....	21,671

TABLE IV. NATIVITY OF POPULATION, 1870 AND 1880.

		NATIVE							FOREIGN							
		Total Native	Born in State	Alabama	South Carolina	Virginia and West Virginia	Tennessee	Georgia	Total Foreign	British America	England and Wales	Norway and Sweden	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France
1870.....	18,538	12,136	1,359	958	623	1,264	894	284	4	16	139	27	27	41	2	
1880.....	21,563	16,220	1,190	759	469	1,042	741	108	3	23	6	30	4	33	2	

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1860, 1870, AND 1880.

	Acres Improved Land	Acres unimproved Land	Value of Farms	Value of Farm Implements	Value of Farm Products	Bushels Indian Corn	Cotton Ginned, in 400 bales	Bushels Irish Potatoes	Bushels Sweet Potatoes	Bushels Wheat	Gallons Molasses	Value of Live Stock	Pounds Butter
1860.....	101,469	271,977	\$3,180,690	\$156,510	.....	644,089	19,282	12,518	74,084	35,049	.....	\$768,630	16,595
1870.....	89,230	260,961	1,857,047	67,843	\$2,125,337	470,305	9,007	4,692	23,772	.....	1,920	799,900	26,300
1880.....	99,044	445,966	1,633,097	69,458	1,014,171	217,041	15,214	4,774	31,209	9,222	46,800	409,995	193,126

TABLE VI. SIZE OF FARMS, 1860-1880.

	Total Number of Farms	3 Acres	3 and under 10	10 and under 20	20 and under 50	50 and under 100	100 and under 500	500 and under 1000	1000 and over	Average Size
1860	913	.....	8	48	260	296	267	25	9	.....
1870	2,551	.....	668	189	1,251	280	150	11	2	.....
1880	2,161	4	43	272	480	448	822	67	25	144

TABLE VII. CLASSIFICATION OF FARMS ACCORDING TO TENURE, 1880.

Class I. Cultivated by Owner.

Total	Under 3 Acres	3 to 10 Acres	10 to 20 Acres	20 to 50 Acres	50 to 100 Acres	100 to 500 Acres	500 to 1000 Acres	1000 Acres
1,336	2	14	41	111	346	737	61	24

Class II. Rented for Fixed Money Rental.

164	3	38	61	23	37	1	1
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Class III. Rented for Shares of Products.

861	2	26	193	308	79	48	5
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TABLE VIII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, * 1860-1880.

	Number of Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	Number of Hands Employed	Cost of Labor	Value of Products
1860.....	17	\$47,450	\$38,625	74	\$20,484	\$91,650
1870.....	37	51,100	291,200	102	18,700	39,800
1880.....	30	48,990	69,078	41	5,795	25,270

*NOTE.—These statistics embrace the entire manufacturing and mechanical productions of the county, including "neighborhood industries."

TABLE IX. SELECTED MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, * 1860, 1870.

	Number of Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	Number of Hands	Wages	Value of Products
1860 { Flour and meal.....	1	\$5,000	\$7,000	2	\$484	\$7,700
{ Leather.....	6	8,250	9,150	14	3,780	16,300
{ Lumber.....	8	27,200	20,675	49	12,840	61,650
{ Blacksmith.....	2	7,000	1,700	9	3,480	6,000
1870 { Leather tanned.....	2	2,000	44,200	4	700	59,700
{ Leather curried.....	2	2,500	60,500	5	900	76,000
{ Lumber sawed.....	7	12,700	28,000	38	870	60,700
{ Wool carding.....	1	1,500	1,200	2	400	14,000
1880.....						

* All industries with a gross production of less than \$10,000 annually, all "neighborhood industries," and saw mills producing less than \$2,500 annually were omitted in 1870. All counties having a gross production less than \$100,000 annually and all "neighborhood industries," and all other industries producing less than \$20,000 annually were omitted in 1880.

TABLE X. ASSESSED VALUATION OF PROPERTY, TAXES AND INDEBTEDNESS, 1860, 1870, 1880.

ASSESSED VALUATION				TAXATION			DEBTS	
	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Total	State	County	Town	Total	Net Debts
1860.....	\$5,932,990	\$10,029,210	\$15,962,200					
1870.....	1,477,074	1,802,642	3,339,716	\$21,312	\$25,047	\$1,500	\$47,859	\$5,000
1880.....	1,538,456	764,949	2,303,405	11,677	30,261		\$41,938	9,000

TABLE XI. SCHOOL STATISTICS AND ILLITERACY, 1870.

ATTENDED SCHOOL				CANNOT WRITE																			
	Total	Native	Foreign	White		Negro		Total	Native	Foreign	White				Negro								
				Male	Female	Male	Female				10-15		15-21		21 and over		10-15		15-21		21 and over		
											Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1870	886	886	475	302	54	55	4,423	4,531	4,529	2	16	11	10	10	26	26	26	297	508	535	1,357	1,415

TABLE XII. CHURCH STATISTICS, 1860, 1870.

	NUMBER OF CHURCHES				VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY						SITTINGS			
	Baptist	Methodist	Pres- byterian	Episcopal	Baptist	Methodist	Pres- byterian	Episcopal	Baptist	Methodist	Pres- byterian	Episcopal		
1860.....	14	12	6	1	\$10,000	\$13,400	\$15,500	\$10,000	3,200	3,700	2,900	300		
1870.....	8	12	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,900	2,700	2,200	250

RECONSTRUCTION IN OKTIBBEHA COUNTY.

BY F. Z. BROWNE.¹

As the courthouse in Oktibbeha county was destroyed by fire with most of the public records in 1875 the material for this paper has of necessity been wholly drawn from the testimony of participants and eye-witnesses.

From the time of the surrender of the civil government of Mississippi on May 22 until June 13, 1865, when provisional Governor Sharkey, who had been appointed by the president in his official capacity as commander-in-chief of the army, took charge, the administration of civil affairs in Mississippi was entirely under the supervision of the military authorities.

A large portion of the army of occupation still being in the State it was thought expedient by those in authority that companies of cavalry or infantry should be stationed at strategic points. In accordance with this policy a company of cavalry commanded by Captain Graves was quartered in 1865 in the main street of Starkville, the county seat of Oktibbeha county. Martial law was at once established, and Captain Graves' word was law. As a species of retributive

¹ Fred Zollicoffer Browne was born at Kosciusko, Mississippi, December 27, 1878. He is the eldest son of Dr. J. A. and Mary Elizabeth Browne.

On his father's side he comes of the German Lutheran and Scotch-Irish Presbyterian stock of North and South Carolina. His paternal grandfather, George Henry Browne, who was a graduate of Newberry College, South Carolina, came with his wife, Margaret McClintock, to Mississippi before the War of Secession, and was the first organizer of the Lutheran Church in the State.

Through his mother, Elizabeth Jackson Browne, Mr. Browne is related to some of the best known families of Mississippi and Tennessee. Sam. A. Jackson of Kosciusko, Mississippi, widely and favorably known throughout the State, was his uncle.

His maternal grandmother was Susan A. Zollicoffer, a niece of General Felix Kirk Zollicoffer of Tennessee.

Mr. Browne is a graduate of the University of Mississippi and of Princeton Theological Seminary. He has also received the M.A. degree from Princeton University. November 29, 1911, he married Miss Susie Walton McBee of Lexington, Mississippi. He is now pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Starkville, Mississippi.—EDITOR.

justice for real or fancied wrongs committed upon the colored race, white men were arrested and fined upon the slightest pretexts. The only way of relief from the intolerable situation was found in the fact that with Graves and his soldiers the jingle of the guinea in the hand of the white man was found to be a most efficacious salve for the hurt that honor feels. Graves was so absolutely venal that like the Romans in the time of Jugurtha he would have sold himself if he could have found a purchaser.

The first authenticated case of rape by a negro on a white woman in Oktibbeha county occurred while Graves held sway in Starkville. The negro was arrested and brought to town and released by Graves upon payment of \$100 in gold. Upon the payment of \$100 more by the grandfather of the outraged girl Graves permitted the released negro to be run to death by hounds.

To the great relief of all, the Graves' régime was short. He was transferred elsewhere in 1865 and Captain Foster took his place. Captain Foster discharged well and faithfully the duties of his trying and difficult position. In the hour of their humiliation he showed a genuine respect and consideration for those who had shown themselves to be foemen worthy of his steel. He won the respect of all with whom he came in contact.

With the occupation of the town by Federal troops a branch of the freedmen's bureau was established in Starkville. C. A. Sullivan, a native son of Oktibbeha county, called in derision a scalawag, was its first head. He was a lawyer of some ability, and had been a Confederate soldier. Like all renegades, he was most zealous in showing his devotion to the cause of his erstwhile enemies. His influence on the negroes and on political conditions in general was very bad. Knowing that he was most cordially hated he went armed all the time.²

W. S. James, the sheriff of Oktibbeha county under the Confederate régime, having died about the time of the inauguration of martial law, Crockett Sullivan was appointed sheriff and tax collector. He was, if possible, a worse character than his brother. By him the plundering of the county under a form of law was begun. He collected taxes levied at exorbitant rates, never making any settlements, and finally decamped to Alabama.

²These facts were obtained from conversations with Prof. Rhett Maxwell.

In the fall of 1866, H. C. Powers, one of the most interesting of the characters of the period, came to Oktibbeha county from Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Powers was a cousin of Governor R. C. Powers and was a man of culture, ability, and business experience. Mr. Powers began his career in Mississippi, not as a carpetbagger, but as a planter of means. Having failed at planting he went into politics and became the most influential leader of the Republicans in the county. Though placed in a difficult situation as the dispenser of Republican patronage in the county and often reviled and misunderstood, Mr. Powers throughout this stormy period was always the friend of the white man and an advocate of good government. This was shown by the fact that through his advice and influence Colonel Muldrow,³ a man of marked ability, afterwards grand cyclop of the local Ku Klux Klan and congressman for years from the Oktibbeha district, was elected a member of the State legislature along with Ben Chiles, an ignorant colored man, at a time when there were eight hundred more negroes than white men registered in Oktibbeha county.

As Muldrow voted so voted Ben Chiles. Whenever a vote was called for or an opinion asked, Ben would say "I must see my friend Colonel Muldrow." It was well for Oktibbeha county and the State that Muldrow was there and that he was consulted. After the defalcation of Crockett Sullivan in 1867, Powers was appointed sheriff by Governor Ames. In 1868 he was elected on the Republican ticket to this office in the regular election over Henry McCright and J. W. James. He was an honest and capable officer. His task was a very difficult one, for he was hated by many because of the fact that he was a Northern Republican and had been elected by the negro vote. Then, too, the negroes, grossly ignorant, and inordinately puffed up in this year of jubilee of their new found freedom, were exceedingly hard to control. Through their loyal leagues and other organizations they began to demand a share for themselves in the State and county government. The Republican leaders generally were soon almost in the position of him who was "Hoist with his own petard."

At one time when the negroes were organizing and marching to and fro over the county to the various voting places the white men, grown desperate, went to Powers and told him that they would kill him if

³A sketch of Col. H. L. Muldrow by Hon. Geo. J. Leftwich will be found in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X, 269-279.—EDITOR.

he did not put a check on such conduct. Powers professed himself a friend of the white man's government and promised to do what he could. The feeling against him was so bitter after his reelection as sheriff over the Democratic candidates that an effort was made by the desperate and disgruntled element to prevent his making bond. When his bond was made by some of the most prominent Democrats of the county who knew his real character and worth, a further effort was made to have him impeached and thrown out of office for dishonesty. In answer to this charge Powers said, "Gentlemen, have an expert to examine my books and I will pay all expenses." The investigation was made and the books were found absolutely correct. The State afterwards refunded to Powers the amount paid out by him for the investigation.

After a time even the most headstrong and impulsive element in the Democratic party came to understand Powers better. As will be seen later, it was an open secret that it was his influence more than that of any one else with those high in authority in the Federal government that saved the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan in Oktibbeha county from serving a term in the Federal prison at Albany.

Powers accepted without reservation that famous political maxim that to the victors belong the spoils. Along with one Loomis, who also hailed from Cleveland, Ohio, he secured the contract for building the Artesia to Starkville spur of the Mobile and Ohio railroad. The work was done with convict labor, which was secured from the legislature through political influence. The county Republican organization, which was at this time in the heyday of its power, voted bonds and collected heavy taxes galore. Loomis amassed a fortune as a contractor and went back North. His operations covered a wide range of territory in the State. At one time he had an office in Jackson. It is a striking tribute to the honesty of Powers that he lived and died a comparatively poor man.⁴

As has been remarked, the ignorant freedman, drunk with the consciousness of freedom and led astray by designing political agitators, seemed to think that it was un-Republican not to organize into loyal leagues and other clubs and march over the county. Generally they

⁴ Thomas Gillespie is authority for information as to the building of the spur line of the Mobile and Ohio to Starkville.

were in a state of unrest, like sheep without a shepherd—all looking eagerly for that supposedly promised gift of forty acres and a mule to each head of a family. In their excited and unsettled condition they reverted to the savage customs of their African ancestors, who had been trained to rally to some central point when the sound of their rude war drums was heard over hill and jungle. This was to them what the fiery cross was to the Gael or the beacon fire to the Saxon or North American Indian. Late at night the children of the Southern planters shivered with a nameless dread as the throbbing drums announced to them that the negroes were assembling and marching, they knew not why nor where.

When the negroes were becoming very insolent and unruly Dr. Ellis, of the Trim Cane neighborhood in Oktibbeha county, a United States Commissioner, issued a warrant for the arrest of a negro, Gabe Dotson, who had been guilty of some misdemeanor. This warrant was served by Bob Ellis, a nephew of Dr. Ellis, who was at that time clerking for Mr. Hub Sanders. Robert Ellis made the arrest and immediately the whole league or the organized body of negroes in that community armed themselves and marched into Starkville. They had been organized and drilled by Bob McDuffie, a negro who it was said had picked up some crude ideas of military science from service as body servant of his master in the Confederate army. As they marched up the main street of Starkville their guns were carried in a wagon in the midst of the column and were covered with corn shucks and thus concealed. Robert Ellis, who in the discharge of his duty had arrested their compatriot, was the main object of their search. When they reached the vicinity of the present courthouse in Starkville one of their number, named Samson Wynn, espying Ellis on the street, approached him and began to curse him. Ellis immediately shot him down. Bob McDuffie, the negro with the drum, seeing this, struck it and immediately the negroes rushed for their guns and began to fall in line returning the fire and shooting down Ellis. By this time all the white men on the street were rushing for their guns and the negroes were firing on them. A general and bloody battle, in which the negroes would have been exterminated, seemed imminent. Sheriff Powers, hearing the firing, rushed out of his office about the time that the drum signal to begin firing was given. The negroes in their excitement not knowing difference between a white Republican and any other white

man, he was shot in the neck with duck shot and quite painfully wounded. Robert Ellis, who was seriously but not mortally wounded, came limping painfully to the door of Mr. Hub Sanders' store and Sanders let him in. The negroes, armed and organized, had possession of Main street for a time. Capt. Hub Sanders and all the white men in town had rushed for their guns, however, and were preparing for an organized attack which the negroes could not have withstood. Knowing what was in preparation, Col. H. L. Muldrow rushed out among the negroes and urged them to disband at once and return to their homes and thus avoid further bloodshed.⁵

Afraid of the white man's anger and demoralized no doubt by the fact that they had shot Powers, the negroes hearkened to this wise advice and scattered to their homes. They were not to escape so easily, however. A night or two later a posse, including fifty or seventy-five men from Clay county, went to out arrest the ring leaders. Among others, Gabe Dotson's house was visited. The desperate negro shot at them from his cabin and one Ab. Ramey of West Point was wounded. After the shooting the negro ran for his life, but must have been overtaken, as he was never heard of again.

Learning a lesson from this riot, Powers had guards placed around the town to prevent any more negro bands from marching into it.

From 1866 to 1871, at which latter date the Ku Klux began to get in its work, were the halcyon days of negro and carpetbag rule in Oktibbeha county. Owing to the strictness of the test oaths and to the fact that many Democrats had either failed to register or had lost their registration certificates, there was at one time during this period a majority of eight hundred negro and Republican voters in the county. At this time, the whites were also intimidated by the power of the United States government behind the carpetbagger. They had not yet learned how to keep the negro from the polls or how to "cancel" his vote after he had been there. The negroes organized and marched in solid column to the polls on election days. At one time they wore yellow shirts, that is as far as they were able to do so, as a sort of uniform or badge of organization. At another time they appeared, each with an ear of corn suspended from the neck. In

⁵ Mr. Hub Sanders, Confederate soldier, Ku Kluxer and sheriff of Oktibbeha county for sixteen years, is the source of information as to the riot.

this palmy time of the negro and carpetbagger in old Oktibbeha an old negro named Dave Higgins made a speech to his fellow Ethiops in the course of which he admonished them after this fashion "You niggers quit 'busing the white folks, for some white folks is as good as niggers."

During this period many negroes were elected to office in Oktibbeha county. Ben Chiles, already mentioned in connection with Colonel Muldrow, was in the legislature as were also Randall Nettles, Caesar Simmons, and Anderson Boyd. All these "legislators" have long since passed away with the exception of Ben Chiles and Randall Nettles. For years Ben was a well known character on the Starkville streets and has only recently died. When joked by the young white men with reference to his career in the legislature he would retort "Honey that sho is one place where you can never go"—or words to that effect.

Caesar Hyde, John Gamble, and Juniper Yeates were at various times members of the board of supervisors. A negro named Jim McNichols held at one time the office in which there were surely great opportunities for "emolument"—that of county treasurer. As we find no record of his having become rich, he must have been like the rest of them, a mere catpaw for the white men who were wielding the real power.

Ignorance and corruption could not long hold sway over the Anglo-Saxon, and the white man soon began to come into his own. In no uncertain tones the voices of the real rulers of the county were heard. Rendered desperate by such unspeakable conditions the native white people determined that by fair means or foul a check should be placed on negro and carpetbag misrule. Soon ballot stuffing, open intimidation, and bribery of negro voters at the polls were resorted to. Here if at any period in the world's history, the end justified the means. What was this end? I answer "The preservation of white supremacy and the keeping intact of the heritage of the fathers." Yes, the ballot boxes in Oktibbeha county were stuffed and, as Mr. Page an old member of the Ku Klux and war horse of Democracy remarked, "They were stuffed with mighty good stuffin." As few of the negroes could read, the clerk of the election was usually a Democrat. A favorite method of "carrying elections" in Oktibbeha was for the clerk of the election to memorize the entire list of names and offices on the

Democratic ticket and then read the Republican ballots as if they were Democratic.

An amusing story is told in this connection of an old negro preacher who was one of the clerks of an election. Determined to carry the election for white supremacy the Democrats made him drunk. One Hale, a Republican candidate, stood uneasily by while the stuffing went merrily on and his political doom was being writ. Ever and anon he would punch the sleeping negro, saying in an anxious tone, "Wake up parson!" After a time seeing the utter futility of further anxiety or effort he exclaimed "Pshaw! Pshaw!" and departed. Just about this time the drunken negro opened his eyes and looked all around and said "Do you tink anyting has gone wrong?" No, nothing had gone wrong, but that particular box had gone right!

Sometimes more strenuous measures than ballot box stuffing and moral suasion were resorted to in Oktibbeha. The doctrine of the Jesuits was pressed to its limits even to the extreme of physical violence as a punishment for bad faith. In their loyal leagues the negroes had been taught to give acquiescence to their former masters and pretend to vote the Democratic ticket, but in reality to vote the Republican.

Upon one occasion an election hung in the balance and much depended upon the result, the Democrats armed and desperate, stood around the polls and even snatched the ballots from the hands of negroes and intimidated them in various other ways.

On one occasion Rhett Maxwell had secured a negro's promise that he would vote the Democratic ticket. As the negro went in to vote Captain McDowell, who was standing near by, said to Maxwell "Watch that negro, he is going to vote the Republican ticket." Maxwell knew that the negro had the Democratic ticket in his right hand, but when he came to vote he voted the Republican ticket, which was in his left. So incensed was Captain McDowell at this breach of faith that when the negro came out he struck him a heavy blow with his fist, knocking him down. Captain McDowell and Mr. Maxwell are men of the highest probity and honor, the former being a Presbyterian elder and the latter a prominent Baptist. Both say that in defence of white supremacy, their families, and all that is dear to them they would act the same way, if placed again in similar circumstances. There was the spirit of Virginius who slew his daughter

rather than see her dishonored. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies.

All of this course, was wrong in principle and proved a fruitful source of moral obliquity. Some men, who stuffed the ballot boxes when it seemed necessary, had their moral faculties so blunted that after a time they stuffed them when there was no real necessity.

As soon as these measures of expediency ceased to be called for in the closing of the imminent deadly breach through which the hosts of carpetbag misrule were rushing to prey upon the defenseless South—their use was discouraged by the Southern leaders. Gen. J. Z. George early sounded the note of warning against the use of such methods. He early saw the creeping miasma of moral obliquity and advised the Southern white man to turn aside from such methods; to get guns and of necessary stand at the polls and use open violence rather than fraud.

The Ku Klux Klan was organized in Starkville in about 1868. The best men of the county were in it. Colonel Muldrow, than whom no man was more loved and honored, was grand cyclops—chief organizer and head of the Klan. Other prominent members were Messrs. Gay, Page, Carothers, Rhett, Murray, Maxwell, Thomas and George Gillespie, Hub Sanders, and Henry Fox. Their usual meeting place was in a grove near George Gillespie's house about a quarter of a mile from the town of Starkville. The Klan adopted and carried out only preventive and remedial measures in Oktibbeha county. They were particularly active about election times frightening and, sometimes as an extreme measure, whipping unruly negroes. Though some irresponsible parties masqueraded as Ku Klux and ran to "an excess of riot," it is the proud and truthful boast of the regular organization in the county of Oktibbeha that at no time were their hands stained with human blood. They rode in nondescript costumes designed by themselves. Usually their only disguise were sheets draped about their persons.⁶

The negroes were not always as badly deceived as they appeared. An old negro named Johnson Gillespie, who had belonged to Dr. W. E. Gillespie of Starkville, said to his young master, "Marse George,

⁶ Sources of information as to Ku Klux Klan were Messrs. George Gillespie Hub Sanders, and Murray Maxwell.

what are these things that go around at night called Ku Klux?" George Gillespie answered "I do not know, but they say they are the spirits of the dead." The old negro answered "If dey are the sperrits of de just who went to heaben I don't tink dey would want to come back to this country, and if dey are the sperrits of the wicked it is a ——— poor hell that will not hold them."

The most picturesque and interesting character among the carpet-baggers of Oktibbeha was one McLaughlin. He had zeal, but not according to knowledge, and the fanaticism if not the courage of old John Brown. He had been a presiding elder in the Northern Methodist church, and when he came South he assisted in the organization of the negro Methodist church and accepted the same position in its economy. Soon after his arrival in Starkville he became the head of the freedman's bureau. He was also an organizer of loyal leagues, chief fomenter of political unrest, and an encourager of social equality. At the freedman's bureau headquarters near the present courthouse in Starkville he established a sort of coöperative store or stock company. Stock was \$5 per share and corn or other produce was accepted in lieu of money. A negro's credit was in proportion to the number of shares he held. As McLaughlin lived at the store on terms of social equality with the negroes, it naturally became a negro headquarters. Encouraged by him the negroes became more and more insolent every day. White men and women were crowded into the gutters by the marching negroes. It was about this time that as a consequence of the Ellis riot Captain McCright was appointed by Sheriff Powers to guard the town.

Conditions finally became so unbearable that thirty or forty men from the western part of the county organized to come in and as they expressed it either "get" McLaughlin or drive him away. Some of these men were in the regular Ku Klux organization and some were not. The night this party started for Starkville Hub Sanders, a resident, had ridden out to collect a party to guard the town. When some distance out, some shots were fired as a Ku Klux signal in the distance. Sanders and his men then turned back and met the other party who were going in after McLaughlin. Sanders advised them not to go as Captain McCright, an old Confederate soldier, was on guard and would defend McLaughlin to the death. Part of the party under George Gillespie went on anyway, Sanders refusing to go with

them. Leaving the main road and thus eluding the guard they came around through the section now known as Hard Scrabble to McLaughlin's store. McLaughlin and the negroes with him in fear of some such raid had piled up three or four hundred bushels of corn against the door. The party secured a long pole and using it as a battering ram drove the door from its hinges; McLaughlin and the negroes with him meanwhile crying murder at the top of their voices. Aroused by the clamor the town guard under McCright came up and drove the party away. The reputable element among the Ku Klux only wanted to frighten McLaughlin and drive him away, but there were those in the party who would have killed him.⁷ McLaughlin, who had been warned before and had refused to go, was glad enough to leave this time. W. B. Montgomery, a prominent citizen, acted as go-between and arranged that McLaughlin should depart the next day. Strange to relate under the principle that you must fight the devil with fire McLaughlin asked that "Devil Jim Bell" a local fire eater be selected to guard him on the way to the railroad station. While W. B. Montgomery was in consultation with McLaughlin at the freedmen's bureau headquarters as to ways and means of escape a party came and offered their services as a "guard" for McLaughlin to Mayhew, twelve miles away. Montgomery fortunately called to mind the spirit of the old adage "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts" and after looking them over decided that McLaughlin would never get to Mayhew with them, alive. So with the connivance of Montgomery, who was determined to avoid bloodshed, McLaughlin was dressed in a woman's clothes and slipped out through Hard Scrabble to the nearest railroad station and finally landed safely in Holly Springs. Breathing forth threatenings and slaughter, he was back in a few days with United States marshals and a troop of cavalry at his back.

There were three separate dens of Ku Klux in Oktibbeha county. One had its headquarters at Starkville, another at the Choctaw agency in the country and the third and last at Double Springs. Men from all three dens had participated to a greater or less extent in the harrying of McLaughlin. All of them had united in the determination

⁷ My sources of information on McLaughlin were Professor Maxwell, Hub Sanders and George Gillespie.

to drive him from the country. The negroes, not at all times so badly scared and deceived as had been supposed, had penetrated the disguises of many of the Ku Klux and lodged information against them. McLaughlin's special animosity seemed to be directed against Jim Bell, the man whose services as guardian he had requested. Bell sat in the streets and shouted "Hello Yanks" to the troops as they went directly towards his house and then, hearing they were after him, fled. The troops burst into Bell's house and surprised his wife and sister-in-law in their night clothes. Trusting to the aforementioned negro sources of information McLaughlin had every man arrested and indicted whom he thought had had anything to do with his hurried exodus. So unreliable was his information, however, that he failed to have arrested a single man who had been an active participant. Many of the leading Ku Klux, however, were caught in the drag net and carried to Holly Springs. While the arrests were being made the soldiers were quartered for a night or two in the courthouse in Starkville. The conduct of the soldiers in breaking into Jim Bell's house had so aroused the county that a party of thirty men made up at Steele's mill near Starkville were in full march to attack the soldiers when the counsel of older and wiser heads prevailed and they yielded to the entreaties of Captain Beattie and Rogers and Judge Hopkins.

Rhett Maxwell, Murray Maxwell, Y. Z. Harrington, Jim Watt, Wiley Moss, William Bell, Col. Graves, Aleck Hogan, John Yeates, and others, to the number of twenty-six, were arrested. These arrests, of course, created intense excitement. Some of the more desperate spirits meditated a cross country expedition for the purpose of disposing finally of McLaughlin, who was teaching a negro school in Holly Springs. The counsel of wiser heads again prevailed. The committal trial was held at Holly Springs. No trouble was had in securing bond for the accused, as bondsmen went up from Starkville and the most prominent citizens of Marshall county vied with each other in the effort to sign the bail bonds.

The accused men were arraigned before Judge R. A. Hill at Oxford at the next succeeding term of the Federal court. Judge Hill, a very fair and impartial judge, showed his sympathy for the accused men, but there is no doubt that as Ku Klux they came very near making a trip to the Federal prison at Albany. In this time of need Powers,

the Republican leader in Oktibbeha county, showed himself the white man's friend. He used his influence with those in authority and declared that not a man who was under arrest in Oxford had been concerned in the raid on McLaughlin's store. This assurance, coming from such a source, had great effect. The prosecuting attorney of the Federal court in session at Oxford was a carpetbagger named G. Wiley Wells. Many of those on trial were old soldiers. Armed and absolutely fearless, they were ready for any desperate enterprise. At one time they seriously considered attacking and chaining up G. Wiley Wells and the trial judge and all Republican officials and escaping across the country to Texas. In a spirit of desperate bravado they would shout G. Wiley Wells after the fashion of a court crier at all hours of the night. One night all the accused, draping themselves in sheets, participated in a mock Ku Klux parade to the room occupied by G. Wiley Wells. Knocking on the door they cried in stentorian tones for G. Wiley Wells to come out and view them. Needless to say he did not emerge. Really intimidated—knowing the nature of the men with whom he was dealing and realizing that they represented the real voice of the people—Wells and other Republican Federal court officials had the cases postponed, and they never came up again for trial. Soon after the postponement F. S. Pate, a Republican lawyer of Oktibbeha county made the proposition that he would extricate all from the trouble who would pay him \$100. George Gillespie and Hub Sanders had been arrested and arraigned in Starkville, but had not been carried to Oxford with the others. Nevertheless they were very uneasy. Gillespie, who was at the time a man of means, states that when he heard that something was in the air and that there was a possible way of escape, he took the Mobile and Ohio train and rode it continuously for a time from Corinth to Meridian "looking for the hole." He finally found it, and paid for himself and a friend Drake and several others. Sanders and all of the others who could raise the money also paid. They had a wholesome respect acquired in the war for the United States government and wished to be very certain that this matter would never come up again. F. S. Pate, the Republican lawyer who opened the way of escape, was a native of Lowndes county, Mississippi. He secured the appointment as chancellor in the Oktibbeha district and held it until the overthrow of the carpetbag régime.

McLaughlin, who was a poor sort of creature at best, went to St. Louis from Holly Springs and became assistant to the district attorney. He seems to have suffered a partial change of heart. Some five or six years ago he visited Starkville. Some one saw him on the street and pointing him out to Professor Maxwell said "There is your friend," Maxwell then said to him "Hello there, do you know who I am?" "You are Mr. Maxwell" replied McLaughlin. "Didn't you swear lies on me at Holly Springs" said Maxwell. "I was mistaken" humbly replied McLaughlin.

Any low vagabond and camp follower from the North who was willing to affiliate with the negroes was able to make a political tool of them at this time. Contemporary with McLaughlin in Oktibbeha county was one McBride, who had been whipped out of Chickasaw county where he had taught a negro school. Becoming the teacher of a negro school at Osborn, he was found guilty of rape committed on one of his pupils and forced to leave the country. One Leak, a carpetbagger also taught a negro school in the county and was at one time president of the board of supervisors. He was whipped on the streets of Starkville by Thomas Gillespie for writing an insulting note to Gillespie's sister when she asked him to pay a just debt. He died of pneumonia in Starkville not long after he received this thrashing.

Another low vagabond was "Shirt" Wilson, so-called because he was tried for the theft of a shirt from the negro with whom he was living. Though making a speech in his own defense he was convicted and jailed, but falling over in a fit he was released and permitted to leave the county.

The man who gave the most trouble in the county and held the negro vote together the longest were not these low characters, but men of good family and reputation, many of them natives of the county, who became Republicans after the war for the spoils of office. W. E. Saunders, the two Sullivans, Woodward, Hale, and F. S. Pate were men of this type.

In the early seventies the Democratic political organizations of the county made it a point to intimidate and if necessary whip the leaders of the negro drum companies and break up the meetings of these organizations. If possible the drums were always secured and destroyed and threats made of more drastic treatment if any further

meeting, marching or drumming was attempted. These measures of expediency were not always carried through without bloodshed.

Before a political speaking at the Choctaw agency, the democratic organization arranged to have signals given with horns if trouble should arise. The negroes marched to the speaking in solid phalanx with drum beating. This proving very offensive to the Democrats, an agreement was made between the parties that both horn blowing and drum beating should cease, after which both parties dispersed. On his way home from the speaking young Sessums met a negro named Todd Hudgins, carrying an arm full of guns toward Chapel Hill, a negro church which was a favorite assembling ground of the negroes. Sessums asked Hudgins what he was going to do with so many guns so late in the evening, the negro answered "We are going to kill every woman and child in this beat tonight. Our club meets at Chapel Hill and I am carrying the guns to them." This was all that was necessary to make young Sessums resolve on desperate measures. Ascending a high hill, he sounded the notes of alarm upon his horn. As soon as they could secure their guns all the able-bodied white Democrats answered his signal by joining him near Chapel Hill. Marching in company formation, under the leadership of Thomas Peters, they advanced at once on the negro church. As they rounded a bend in the road near the church the negroes, who had already assembled, fired on them. The whites at once returned the fire, killing one negro outright and wounding about thirty, some of whom afterwards died. The negroes scattered like sheep at the first fire, the white men holding the field and getting possession of the guns. The ringleaders in the disturbance were arrested by H. C. Powers, the Republican sheriff, and sent to Washington to testify before the Congressional committee. With them was sent Henry Outlaw, the negro leader. They were acquitted, Outlaw himself swearing that the negroes were at fault. An interesting sidelight on his testimony is furnished by the fact that the Democrats told Henry on the way up that he would never see Mississippi again if he did not tell the truth.

No man was ever loved more by the people of Starkville than Col. H. L. Muldrow, who was familiarly called by his friends the little giant of Oktibbeha county. He it was who with the connivance of Powers was sent to the Mississippi legislature to act as a check upon

the ignorant negroes in that body. He it was who in 1868 as grand cyclops became the chief organizer of the Ku Klux Klan in the Masonic building in Starkville. He it was who with his law partner, General Nash, was counsel for the accused men of Oktibbeha in Oxford who were suffering from a persecution rather a prosecution. Years after, when an attempt was being made to defeat him for some public office, one of the men whom he had defended told of how on one occasion when the case seemed to be going against them and a term in Federal prison stared them in the face, Muldrow followed the accused to their rooms and told them almost with tears that he was one with them and would be beaten with the same stripes with which they were afflicted.

Colonel Muldrow's triumphant canvass for Congress in 1875, when the white man had begun to come again into his own, was the occasion of one of the most exciting incidents of the Reconstruction period. There was to be a joint discussion at the fair grounds in Starkville between Muldrow and Finis H. Little, the Republican candidate, with whom were his lieutenants, Lee and Frazee. The negro Republican organizations of Oktibbeha having assembled the rank and file of their membership to the number of about twelve or fifteen hundred at "I John Church," upon the site of which the present dairy barn of the Agricultural and Mechanical College now stands, announced that they intended to march to the speaking in solid column through the streets of Starkville. The whites had had enough of negro marching and drumming, and determined to resist any such demonstration to the death. In pursuance of this resolution a body of men much inferior in numbers to the negroes, but officered by old soldiers and sufficient to have exterminated them, was assembled in the streets of Starkville. Colonel Doss, the last colonel of the 14th Mississippi, and Captain McDowell of Starkville were in command. The negroes had been warned not to attempt the march. Rhett Maxwell, now Professor Maxwell of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, had said to a negro leader, one De Loache "You shall not march." De Loache had answered "We will." Maxwell then told him to go to a certain store and buy the finest suit of clothes on sale there. This was to be his if he marched. The implication was that he would only need it for his coffin. So answered King Harold, Harald Hardrada, King of

Norway when he told him that he could have only six feet by two of English ground.⁸

The little force of white men in Starkville had been reinforced from West Point by Albert Cottrell and others who brought a cannon with them. When the news came that the negroes in the face of all warning had said that they would march through Starkville streets, if they had to wade through blood, plans of battle were quickly formed. The Starkville cannon under Captain Hub Sanders and the cannon from West Point under Captain Cottrell were loaded to the muzzle with buckshot and scrapiron and planted on an elevation commanding the street up which the negroes were to march. After the first discharge the negroes were to be charged in front and flank by the force under Colonel Doss and Captain McDowell.

When the pickets who had been sent out returned and reported that the negro column was actually in motion all was expectancy, excitement, and grim determination. The younger element particularly were spoiling for the fray and could hardly be restrained by their leaders. The negroes marched in solid formation, the drum beating at their head. Their guns were carried in wagons in the midst of the column. When the head of the column reached a point near where the Baptist church now is, Captains Sessums and Beattie of the Democratic executive committee, wishing to avoid if possible a useless slaughter, suggested that it would be a good idea to go and stop them. Acting upon this suggestion Captain McDowell, saying that he would not ask any man to do what he would not do himself, rode forth alone and reined up his horse directly in front of the advancing column of negroes.

The old Confederate soldier showed himself a Horatius indeed that day; for who could tell what these semi-barbarians would do? In order to succor Captain McDowell in case of an attack, Godfrey, a Louisianian, rode up close behind him. Rhett Maxwell and Jim Gunn and Jim Bell also sat on their horses near by. Paying little attention to McDowell, the negroes came on. The negro with the drum was beating it violently at the head of the column. Captain McDowell

⁸ These facts were obtained from Hub Sanders, Professor Maxwell, and Captain McDowell.

was forced by them to back his horse for a considerable distance. Finally a negro leveled a derringer at the Captain as he commanded them to disperse and go back. Immediately the Captain covered him with his pistol and the negro instead of firing fell flat on the ground. The Captain's horse having backed upon a small bridge that spanned a ditch at that point in the road, the negro with the drum ran forward beating it violently. His object was to frighten the horse and force the Captain off the bridge. Then he would no doubt have been set upon and clubbed before his friends could have reached him. The old soldier was equal to the situation. Having already "floored" the negro with the derringer he now leveled his pistol at the drummer with the stern command "Strike that drum again and I'll kill you." At this juncture an old negro about seventy-five years old rushed up to the head of the column and shouted, "Beat that drum; I am as ready to die now as any time." Keeping the drummer covered McDowell answered, "Well, old man, you will die if he beats it." Needless to say there was no more drumming just then. The old soldier's heroism had saved the situation. Overawed by the coolness and determination of McDowell and those who had ridden up to his support the negroes wavered and halted. By mere moral suasion and force of will and dauntless bravery in the face of odds the Anglo Saxon was triumphant. The sight of the two cannons on the hill had also done much toward creating a healthy sentiment in favor of retreat. Capt. Hub Sanders was sitting by his cannon calmly smoking. A negro, Bob Bell, gazing with distended eyes, exclaimed that he could stand one bullet but not a sack full.

After McDowell had ridden off and while the negroes were still standing irresolute, Capt. W. H. Chiles walked up and beckoning to the yellow negro drummer said, "Come with me." As they started off a negro in the column cried, "Don't go with that white man." At this Chiles turned and drawing his pistol walked into the column asking to be shown the negro who had spoken. Taking the negro drummer up the street a short distance, he showed him stacked away in a store one hundred and seventy-five guns—and said impressively "Beat that drum again and we'll kill you." The negro answered, "Boss, I don't believe I will beat it any more." Hearing of the attempted march of the negroes and knowing that cannon had been planted in the road ahead to stop them, Judge Orr of Columbus, a prominent Republican, rode up to the head of their column and told

them that the white men were in a temper to exterminate them if they attempted to proceed. H. C. Powers, the Republican sheriff, also entered their ranks and implored them to turn back. After lingering sullenly in the road for a time they gave heed to this advice and dispersed.

The Democratic secret political organization, known as "Square Robinson," initiated members in Oktibbeha county about 1872. Their method of salutation was "Have you seen Robinson?" The reply to this was "What Robinson?" To this the first speaker answered "Square Robinson." Murray Maxwell, George Gillespie, Hub Sanders, and Glenn Bell were members. This organization was formed for the purpose of controlling the elections and seeing to it that, whether by fair or questionable means, they went Democratic.

The Red Shirts also had their day in Oktibbeha county. There was nothing secret about this movement. The man who wore a red shirt simply proclaimed to the world the fact that a Democratic heart beat beneath it. The Red Shirts were very much in evidence around the polls on election days. A negro named Graham Spencer said to J. W. Rousseau, "What do all these red shirts mean? I know what they mean—they mean blood. If the white folks wants blood they can get it." At this point in his remarks Rousseau struck him over the head with a hickory stick, knocking him down. Getting up in a half-dazed condition he started down the road and met a negro named Nelson Thompson. "What is the matter," asked the negro, "Mr. Rousseau is up there trying to start up a riot," replied Spencer. This blow seems to have started Spencer in the right direction for he lost interest in politics and began to preach the gospel soon after.

The history of Oktibbeha is to a large extent the history of the other counties of the State. Immediately after the war the men of Mississippi were too much dazed and broken in spirit to effectively attempt to cheat of their prey the hordes of carpetbag vultures who poured in upon them—for it was not the eagle that preyed upon the vitals of the bound Prometheus, but the vulture. After a time, rising from lethargy and despair, the manhood of the State began to assert itself. Bound hand and foot and unable to adopt open and legitimate methods, history repeated itself, and they took the way of an oath-bound secret organization—the Ku Klux Klan. Well says Garner,⁹

⁹ *History of Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 353.

"History abounds with illustrations of the truth that the secret conclave, the league and the conspiracy are the sequences of political proscription and disfranchisement. The Illumines in France, the Tugenbund in Germany, the Carbonari in Italy, and Nihilism in Russia are notable examples. In the Southern States opposition to the Congressional policy of reconstruction did not take the form of armed and organized resistance, but of secret retaliation upon its agents, and especially favored beneficiaries regardless of race, color, or nativity."

Square Robinson and the Red Shirt movement in Mississippi were simply designed to perpetuate and establish what the Ku Klux movement had so well begun. Through these organizations the Democrats secured only a temporary control of the political situation. Then too, such methods were fruitful sources of moral obliquity and were therefore fraught with danger to the young manhood of the South. At best the snake was scotched, not killed; the negro vote was ever to be reckoned with; and as long as this entered as an element into the situation the question of white supremacy hung suspended like Mahomet's coffin between earth and heaven. The problem was how to give it a firm foundation and establish it forever. The Constitutional Convention of 1890 solved this problem in a satisfactory manner by formulating and attaching to the election laws of the State the educational qualification. Gen. J. Z. George, the formulator of this most important legislation, was most ably seconded in his efforts by Barksdale and other able and farseeing Mississippians. General George being an able constitutional lawyer, the Franchise legislations modeled after similar legislation which in the constitution of Northern states had been designed for the purpose of curbing the vote of the ignorant alien, easily stood the test of the Supreme Court of the United States. Similar legislation soon became a part of the fundamental law of all Southern States. Mississippians as pioneers had wrought a glorious work. A new era had dawned for the South. May such terrible dangers never confront the men of Mississippi and Oktibbeha county again, but if they should arise may we be given strength to meet and overcome them.

It is fitting that this paper should close with the words of Professor Maxwell, a beloved member of the faculty of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, a prominent Baptist and a man beloved all over the State. When asked by the writer whether he would act again as he had acted should similar conditions arise, he answered "Yes, I would do the same things now, only I would pray God's blessing upon me while doing them."

APPENDIX.—CENSUS STATISTICS OF OKTIBBEHA COUNTY, 1860-1880.

TABLE I. OWNERS OF SLAVES AND NUMBER OWNED IN 1860.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-15	15-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-70	70-100	100-200	200-500	Total Owners	Total Slaves
77	39	44	40	30	24	25	21	26	60	48	55	21	11	13	10	5	.....	.....	549	7,631

TABLE II. GENERAL POPULATION STATISTICS.

	WHITES			INDIANS	BLACKS			TOTAL POPULATION			
	Native	Foreign	Total		Free	Slaves	Total	Native	Foreign	Total	Total 21 and Upward
1860.....	5,301	27	5,328	18	7,631	7,649	12,950	27	12,977	.....
1870.....	5,587	54	5,641	.....	.....	9,304	14,837	54	14,891	2,945
1880.....	5,109	48	5,157	1	.....	10,869	15,930	.....	.....	3,105

TABLE III. POPULATION OF MINOR CIVIL DISTRICTS, 1870-1880.

Precincts	1870			1880		
	Total	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored
District 1. Starkville.....	3,160	959	2,201	4,105	1,500	2,605
Starkville.....	475	300	175	1,500	3,506	1,871
District 2. Siloam.....	3,847	1,206	2,641	1,871	2,161	4,335
District 3. Double Springs.....	1,996	1,466	530	.....	.....	.....
District 4. Whitefield.....	1,728	1,169	559	.....	.....	.....
District 5. Choctaw Agency.....	4,160	787	3,373	.....	.....	.....

TABLE IV. NATIVITY OF POPULATION, 1870-1880.

NATIVE BORN										FOREIGN BORN										Total Population	
	Mississippi	Alabama	South Carolina	Virginia and West Virginia	Tennessee	Georgia	North Carolina	Louisiana	Kentucky	Arkansas	Total Native	British America	England and Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Germany	France	Switzerland	Africa	Total Foreign	
1870	9,682	1,721	1,353	621	268	491	426	27	31	13	14,837	1	5	13	19	8	2	3	3	54	14,891
1880	12,318	1,225	958	444	188	216	426	27	31	13	15,930	1	1	17	10	15	1	.....	.....	48	15,978

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

IMPROVED LAND, IN FARMS					UNIMPROVED LAND, IN FARMS			FARM PRODUCTS										
Number of Farms	Acres	Value, including Land, Fences and Buildings	Value of Implements and Machinery	Cost of Fertilizers	Total Acres	Woodland and Forest, Acres	All Other, Acres	Acres in Cotton	Bales of Cotton	Acres in Corn	Busbels of Corn	Pounds of Tobacco	Acres in Oats	Busbels of Oats	Busbels of Wheat	Busbels of Sweet Potatoes	Busbels of Irish Potatoes	Busbels of Peas and Beans
1860	673	90,959	\$3,352,453	\$137,152	139,324				19,959		664,595			1,727	22,359	84,643	7,607	28,563
1870	1,113	84,662	1,063,880	96,806	90,973	90,973	6,702		6,288		334,463	2,046		9,454	5,198	23,627	2,915	1,306
1880	1,218	69,294	1,344,591	56,544	111,503	89,343	22,160	29,679	9,929	25,257	395,553		3,288	39,063	9,351	54,631	8,224	5,450

TABLE V. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS—Continued.

LIVE STOCK AND ITS PRODUCTIONS												MISCELLANEOUS					
	Horses	Asses and Mules	Milch Cows	Working Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of Live Stock	Wool, Pounds of	Butter, Pounds of	Animals Slaughtered, Value of	Hay, Tons of	Value of Orchard Products	Value of Market Garden Pro-ducts	Beeswax, Pounds of	Honey, Pounds of	Manufactures, Value of
1860.....	1,735	2,178	3,182	1,414	6,461	5,025	31,585	820,655	9,490	129,435	181,220	.....	\$18,875	\$80	571	13,845	28,896
1870.....	1,237	1,705	2,296	521	3,356	2,105	14,555	482,037	3,763	48,767	232,248	1,329	9,677	.....	256	3,885	7,473
1880.....	1,324	2,092	3,545	791	4,389	2,411	15,055	399,881	8,047*	206,392†	.....	268	2,935	100	344	4,492	.....

* Spring clip of 1880. † Made on farms in 1879.

TABLE VI. NUMBER, SIZE AND TENURE OF FARMS, 1860-1880.

Size of Farms	1860	1870	1880	TENURE IN 1880		
				Rented for Share of Crop	Rented for Fixed Money Rent	Cultivated by Owner
3 to 10 acres.....	4	35	27	3	16	8
10 to 20 acres.....	65	200	84	28	37	19
20 to 50 acres.....	200	401	256	54	147	55
50 to 100 acres.....	140	265	299	21	93	185
100 to 500 acres.....	231	186	498	12	122	364
500 to 1000 acres.....	23	20	42	1	2	39
1000 acres and over.....	610	6	12	.....	.....	12
Total number.....	673	1,113	1,218	119	417	682

TABLE VII. GENERAL MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, * 1860-1880.

Establishments	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Materials	HANDS EMPLOYED		Annual Cost of Labor	Annual Value of Products
			Male	Female		
1860.....	48	\$118,928	1	1	\$34,620	\$217,650
1870.....	32	30,135	76		6,303	71,059
1880.....	15	88,000	124	1	25,062	81,929

* These statistics embrace the entire manufacturing and mechanical productions of the county, including "neighborhood industries."

TABLE VIII. SELECTED MANUFACTURING STATISTICS, 1860-1880.

Kinds of Establishments	Number	Capital Invested	Cost of Raw Material	NUMBER OF HANDS EMPLOYED		Annual Cost of Labor	Annual Value of Products
				Male	Female		
{ Agricultural Implements.....	6	\$7,850	\$5,360	14		\$5,400	\$18,950
Blacksmithing.....	4	5,200	1,275	9		2,400	4,570
Boots and Shoes.....	8	8,750	5,800	13		4,140	13,350
Carriages.....	1	5,000	2,700	6		1,800	5,850
Clothing.....	1	300	300	2		480	1,000
Flour and Meal.....	6	51,500	164,750	11		2,700	74,750
Furniture, cabinet.....	4	2,200	1,100	7		1,980	4,340
Leather.....	3	4,300	6,000	6		2,040	7,750
Lumber, sawed.....	6	25,500	22,900	29		7,200	75,500
Printing.....	2	2,000	750	6		3,840	6,000
Saddlery and Harness.....	3	1,600	1,020	4	1	1,260	3,020
Wagons, Carts, etc.....	4	3,025	560	5		1,380	2,570
1870*.....							
1880†.....							
Total.....	48	118,925	211,290	112	1	34,620	217,650

* All industries with a gross annual production of less than \$10,000, all "neighborhood industries," and saw mills producing less than \$2,500 annually, are omitted.

† All counties having a gross production of less than \$20,000 annually, all "neighborhood industries," and all other industries producing less than \$20,000 annually were omitted in 1880.

TABLE IX. CHURCH STATISTICS 1860-1870.

	BAPTIST			METHODIST			PRESBYTERIAN			PRESBYTERIAN (CUMBERLAND)			TOTAL			
	Number	Sittings	Value of Property	Number	Sittings	Value of Property	Number	Sittings	Value of Property	Number	Sittings	Value of Property	Number	Edifices	Sittings	Value of Property
1860.....	13	4,400	13,925	11	3,400	15,075	5	1,450	11,700	2	600	1,700	31	.....	9,350	42,400
1870.....	15	3,750	.....	13	3,350	.....	11*	2,750	.....	.....	.....	.....	39	.....	9,350	53,800

* No separate report for the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1870.

TABLE X. SCHOOL STATISTICS, 1870.

	ATTENDED SCHOOL						CANNOT WRITE											
	Total			White		Colored	White						Colored					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Male	10 and under 15	15 and under 21	21 and over	Male	Female	Male	10 and under 15	15 and under 21	21 and over	Male	Female	Total
1870	273	260	679	117	103	118	59	161	254	373	338	434	586	1,654	1,723	5,920		

TABLE XI. TAXES AND PUBLIC DEBTS, 1860-1880.

	ASSESSED VALUATION			TAXATION			PUBLIC DEBT				Total Public Debt	
	Real Estate	Personal Property	Total	State	County	City, Town, etc.	Total	County		City, Town, etc.		
								Bonded	All Other	Bonded		All Other
1860.....	4,394,785	11,002,700	15,397,485	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,000
1870.....	1,229,112	665,052	1,894,164	14,046	37,884	51,930	5,000	42,600
1880.....	885,754	343,126	1,228,880	6,746	21,299	1,500	35,000	7,600

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